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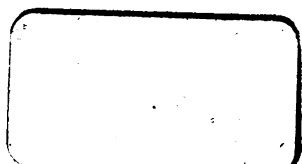
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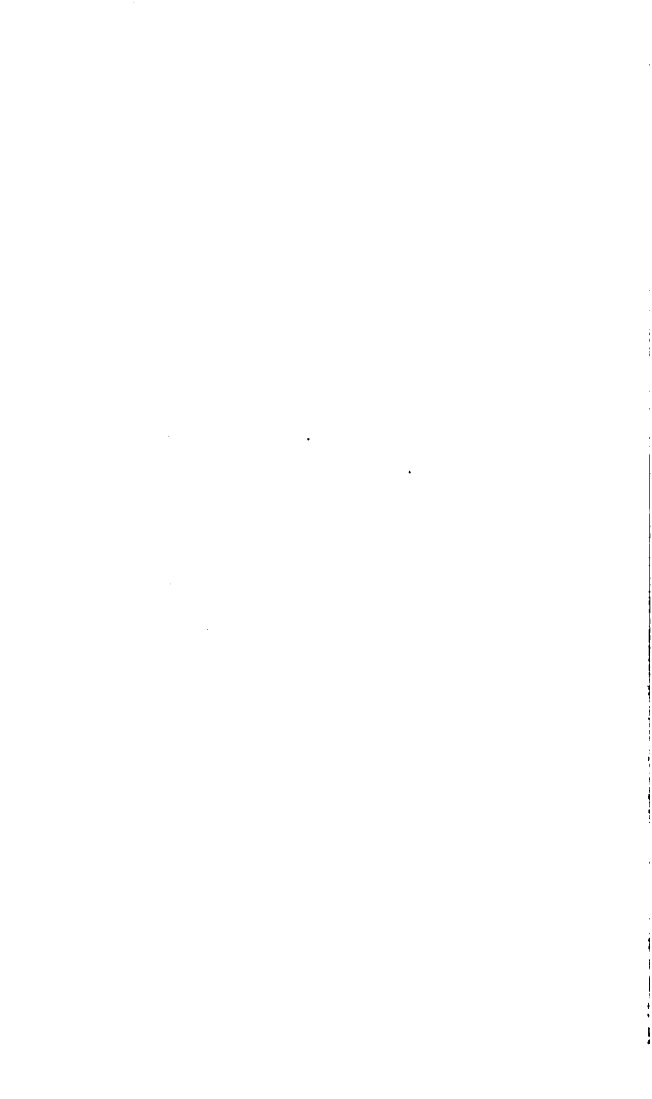


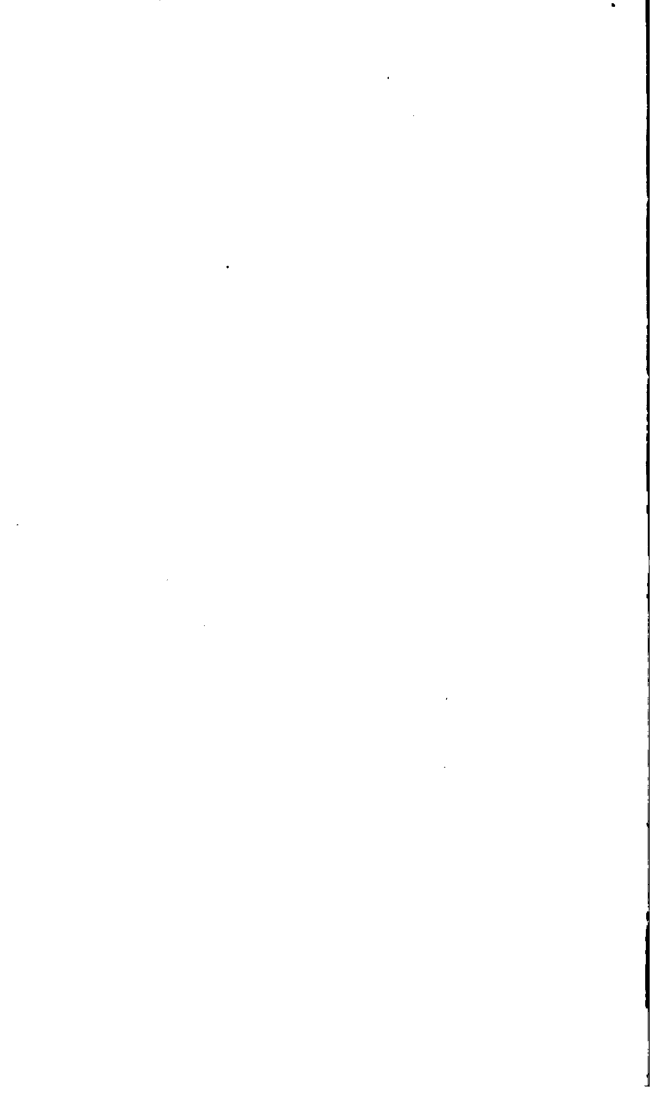
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TRANSLATED BY

GEORGE BAKER, A. M.

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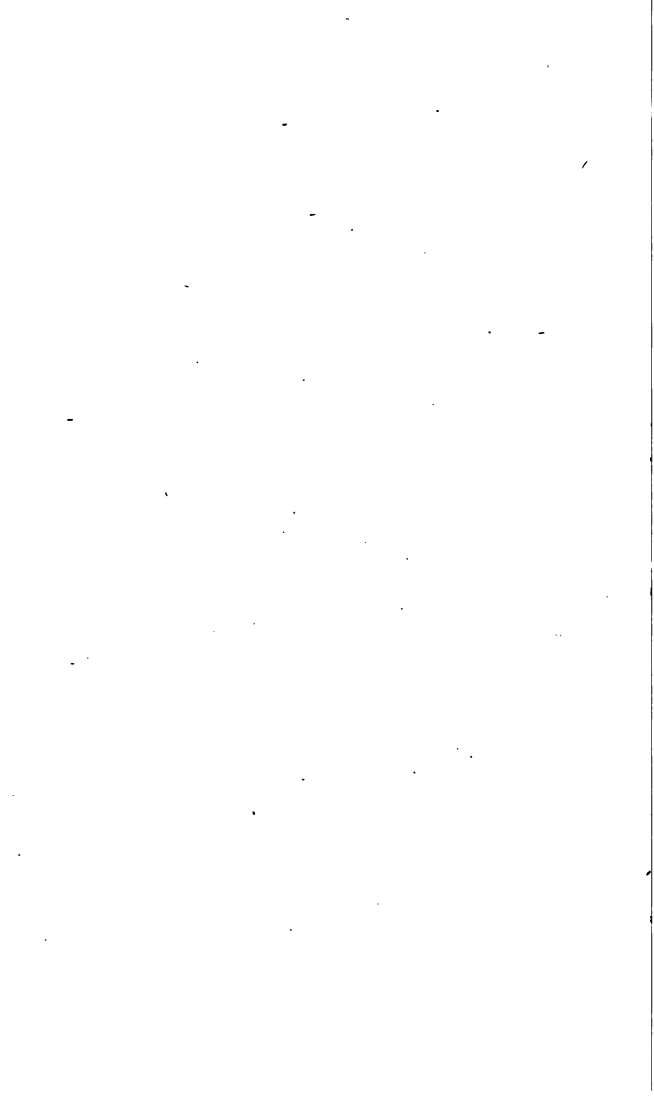
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CONTENTS

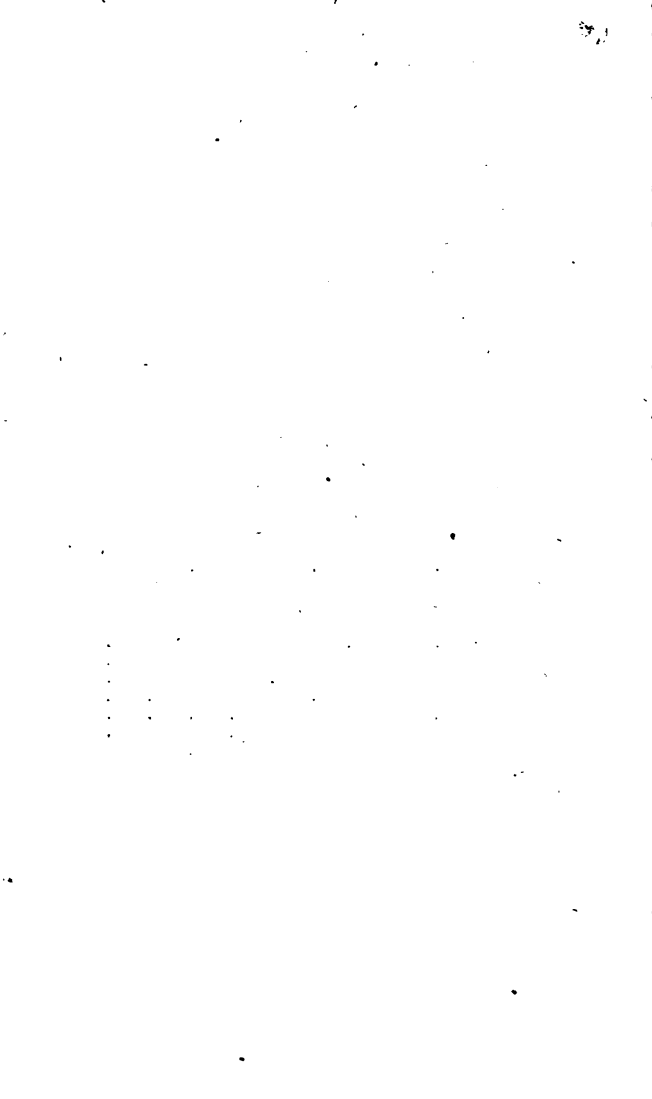
OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

Arguments	PAGE
	v

HISTORY OF ROME.

Book	XXIV.	9
—	XXV.	63
—	XXVI.	116
—	XXVII.	180
—	XXVIII.	245
—	XXIX.	305
—	XXX.	349



HISTORY OF ROME.

ARGUMENTS.

BOOK XXIV.

HIERONYMUS, king of Syracuse, takes part with the Carthaginians; is put to death by his subjects on account of his tyranny and cruelty.—**Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus**, proconsul, with an army composed mostly of slaves, defeats the Carthaginian army under **Hanno** at Beneventum; gives the slaves liberty.—Most of the states in Sicily go over to the side of the Carthaginians.—**Claudius Marcellus**, consul, besieges Syracuse.—War declared against **Philip**, king of Macedonia, who is surprised by night, and routed at Apollonia.—Operations of the **Scipios** against the Carthaginians in Spain.—Treaty of friendship with **Syphax**, king of Numidia; he is defeated by **Masinissa**, king of the Massylians.—The **Celtiberians** join the Romans, and their troops are taken into pay: the first instance of mercenaries serving in a Roman army.

BOOK XXV.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterward called **Africanus**, elected edile before he had attained the age required by the law.—The citadel of Tarentum, in which the Roman garrison had taken refuge, betrayed to **Hannibal**.—Games instituted in honour of **Apollo**, called **Apollinarian**.—**Quintus Fulvius** and **Appius Claudius**, consuls, defeat **Hanno** the Carthaginian general.—**Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus** betrayed by a **Lucanian** to **Mago**, and slain.—**Centenius Penula**, who had been a centurion, asks the senate for the command of an army, promising to engage and vanquish **Hannibal**; is cut off with eight thousand men.—**Cneius Fulvius** engages **Hannibal**, and is beaten, with the loss of sixteen thousand men slain; he himself escapes with only two hundred horsemen.—**Quintus Fulvius** and **Appius Claudius**, consuls, lay siege to **Capua**.—

Syracuse taken by Claudius Marcellus, after a siege of three years.—In the tumult occasioned by taking the city, Archimedes is killed, while intently occupied on some figures which he had drawn in the sand.—Publius and Cornelius Scipio, after having performed many eminent services in Spain, are slain, together with nearly the whole of their armies, eight years after their arrival in that country; and the possession of that province would have been entirely lost, but for the valour and activity of Lucius Marcius, a Roman knight, who, collecting the scattered remains of the vanquished armies, utterly defeats the enemy, storming their two camps, killing thirty-seven thousand of them, and taking eighteen hundred, together with an immense booty.

BOOK XXVI.

Hannibal encamps on the banks of the Anio, within three miles of Rome.—Attended by two thousand horsemen, he advances close to the Colline gate to take a view of the walls and situation of the city.—On two successive days the hostile armies are hindered from engaging by the severity of the weather.—Capua taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius: the chief nobles die, voluntarily, by poison.—Quintus Fulvius having condemned the principal senators to death; at the moment they are actually tied to the stakes, receives despatches from Rome, commanding him to spare their lives, which he postpones reading until the sentence is executed.—Publius Scipio offering himself for the service, is sent to command in Spain: takes New Carthage in one day.—Successes in Sicily.—Treaty of friendship with the Ætolians.—War with Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Acarnanians.

BOOK XXVII.

Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, defeated by Hannibal, and slain. the consul, Claudius Marcellus, engages him with better success.—Hannibal, raising his camp, retires; Marcellus pursues, and forces him to an engagement.—They fight twice: in the first battle Hannibal gains the advantage; in the second Marcellus.—Tarentum betrayed to Fabius Maximus, the consul.—Scipio engages with Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, at Bastula, in Spain, and defeats him.—Among other prisoners, a youth of royal race and exquisite beauty is taken; Scipio sets him free, and sends him, enriched with magnificent presents, to his uncle Masinissa.—Marcellus and Quintus Crispinus, consuls, drawn into an ambuscade by Hannibal: Marcellus is slain; Crispinus escapes.—Operations by

Publius Sulpicius, pretor, against Philip and the Achæans.—A census held: the number of citizens found to amount to one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight: from which it appears how great a loss they had sustained by the number of unsuccessful battles they had of late been engaged in. Hasdrubal, who had crossed the Alps with a reinforcement for Hannibal, defeated by the consuls Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, and slain; with him fell fifty-six thousand men.

BOOK XXVIII.

Successful operations against the Carthaginians in Spain under Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and L. Scipio, his brother; of Sulpicius and Attalus against Philip, king of Macedonia.—Scipio finally vanquishes the Carthaginians in Spain, and reduces that whole country; passes over into Africa; forms an alliance with Syphax, king of Numidia; represses and punishes a mutiny of a part of his army; concludes a treaty of friendship with Masinissa; returns to Rome, and is elected consul: solicits Africa for his province, which is opposed by Quintus Fabius Maximus; is appointed governor of Sicily, with permission to pass over into Africa.

BOOK XXIX.

In Spain, Mandonius and Indibilis reviving hostilities, are finally subdued.—Scipio goes over from Syracuse to Locri; dislodges the Carthaginian general; repulses Hannibal, and recovers that city.—Peace made with Philip.—The Idæan mother brought to Rome from Phrygia; received by Publius Scipio Nasica; judged by the senate the best man in the state.—Scipio passes over into Africa.—Syphax, having married a daughter of Hasdrubal, renounces his alliance with Scipio.—Masinissa, who had been expelled his kingdom by Syphax, joins Scipio with two hundred horsemen; they defeat a large army commanded by Hanno.—Hasdrubal and Syphax approach with a most numerous force.—Scipio raises the siege of Utica, and fortifies a post for the winter.—The consul Sempronius gets the better of Hannibal in a battle near Croton.—Dispute between Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, censors.

BOOK XXX.

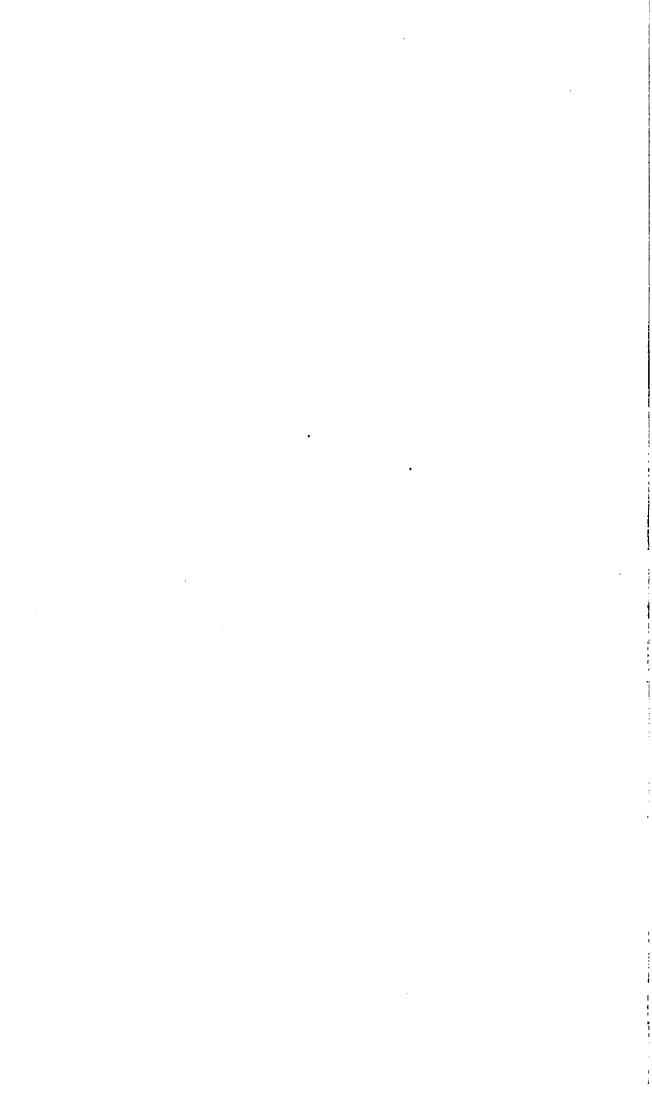
Scipio, aided by Masinissa, defeats the Carthaginians, Syphax, and Hasdrubal in several battles.—Syphax taken by Lælius

and Masinissa.—Masinissa espouses Sopponisba, the wife of Syphax, Hasdrubal's daughter ; being reproved by Scipio, he sends her poison, with which she puts an end to her life.—The Carthaginians, reduced to great extremity by Scipio's repeated victories, call Hannibal home from Italy ; he holds a conference with Scipio on the subject of peace, and is again defeated by him in battle.—The Carthaginians sue for peace, which is granted them.—Masinissa reinstated in his kingdom.—Scipio returns to Rome ; his splendid triumph ; is surnamed Africanus.

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XXIV.

CHAP. I. On his return from Campania into Bruttium, Hanno, assisted by the Bruttians, who served him also as guides, endeavoured to gain possession of the Greek cities; which were the more inclined to adhere to their alliance with Rome, for the very reason that they saw the Bruttians, whom they both hated and feared, taking part with the Carthaginians. The first attempt was made on Rhegium, and several days were spent there to no purpose. Meanwhile, the Locrians hastily conveyed from the country into the city, corn, timber, and other necessities for which they might have occasion; wishing, at the same time, to leave nothing which the enemy could seize; while the multitude which poured out of the gates became every day more and more numerous. At last, those only were left in the place who were obliged to repair the works, and to carry weapons to the posts of defence. Against this mixed multitude, consisting of persons of all ages and ranks, and straggling through the fields, mostly unarmed, Hamilcar the Carthaginian sent out his cavalry; who, having received orders not to hurt any of them, only threw their squadrons in the way to cut off their retreat to the city, towards which they directed their scattered flight. The general himself, having taken his station on an eminence, which commanded a view both of that and the adjacent country, ordered a cohort of Bruttians to approach the walls, and invite the leaders of the Locrians to a conference, and, with assurances of Hannibal's friendship, to persuade them to a surrender. At the beginning of the conference the Bruttians had no credit given to any of their representations; afterward, when the Carthaginians appeared on the hills, and the few citizens who had effected an escape had informed the townsmen that the rest of the multitude were in the enemy's power, then, overcome by fear, they answered, that they would consult the people. Accordingly they instantly summoned an assembly, in which appeared all of the most unsettled who wished for a



tract of rich pasture-ground, in which cattle of every kind sacred to the goddess fed, without any keeper; the herds of each particular kind going out separately, and returning at night to their stalls, without receiving injury either from wild beasts or men. The profits therefore accruing from these cattle were great; out of which a pillar of solid gold was erected and consecrated, so that the fame became as remarkable for riches as for sanctity. Several miracles are also attributed to it, as they generally are to such remarkable places: it is said that there is an altar in the porch of the temple, the ashes on which are never moved by any wind. The citadel of Croto, hanging over the sea on one side, and on the other facing the country, had originally no other defence than its natural situation; afterward a wall was added, enclosing a place through which Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, effecting a passage over some rocks at the back part, had taken it by surprise. The fort thus situate, and deemed sufficiently secure, was held by the nobles, while the plebeians of Croto, in conjunction with the Bruttians, carried on the siege against them. After a considerable time, perceiving that the place was too strong to be reduced by their own force, they yielded to necessity, and implored the assistance of Hanno. Hanno endeavoured to prevail on the Crotonians to surrender, allowing a colony of Bruttians to be settled among them; so that their city, wasted and depopulated by wars, might recover its former populous state; but not one of the whole number, excepting Aristomachus, would listen to the proposal: they declared warmly, that "they would rather die than, by admitting Bruttians into their society, be obliged to adopt foreign rites, manners, laws, and, in time, even a foreign language." Aristomachus, unable by persuasions to bring about a surrender, and finding no opportunity of betraying the citadel, as he had betrayed the town, left the place and went over to Hanno. Soon after this, ambassadors from Locri going, with Hanno's permission, into the citadel, used many arguments to prevail on them to suffer themselves to be removed to Locri, and not to resolve on hazarding the last extremities. This design they had already got leave to execute from Hannibal himself, having sent deputies to treat with him in person. Accordingly Croto was evacuated, and the inhabitants, being conducted to the sea, went on board ships. The whole body of the people removed to Locri. In Apulia even the winter did not produce a suspension of hostilities between the Romans and Hannibal. The consul Sempronius had his winter-quarters at Luceria; Hannibal his near Arpi. Several slight engagements passed between their troops, in consequence of opportunities offering, or of one or the other

party gaining an occasional advantage; and by these the Roman soldiery were improved, and rendered daily more cautious, and guarded against the enemy's stratagems.

4. In Sicily the whole course of affairs took a turn unfavourable to the Romans in consequence of the death of Hiero, and of the kingdom devolving to his grandson Hieronymus, a boy, in whom there was originally no room to expect moderation of conduct, much less on his being invested with absolute power. His guardians and friends were happy in finding him of such a disposition as they could hurry at once into every kind of vice. It is said that Hiero, foreseeing that this would be the case, had, in the last stage of his life, formed an intention of leaving Syracuse free, lest the sovereignty which had been acquired and established by honourable means, should, under the tyrannical administration of a boy, be destroyed through folly and extravagance. This design his daughters opposed strenuously, because they expected that while Hieronymus enjoyed the title of king, the whole administration of affairs would rest in them and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, for these were left the principal among his guardians. It was no easy matter for a man, now in his ninetieth year, and beset night and day by the insinuating wiles of women, to keep his judgment at liberty, and to regulate his domestic concerns by the standard of public utility. He therefore only took the precaution of setting fifteen guardians over his grandson; and these he entreated in his dying moments to maintain inviolate the alliance with the Roman people, which he had religiously observed through a course of fifty years; to direct their endeavours principally to the making the boy tread in his steps, and pursue the maxims inculcated in his education. After giving these charges, he expired, and the governors quitted him. The will was then produced, and the prince, now about fifteen years old, was brought before the people in assembly, on which a few who had been placed in different parts of the crowd for the purpose of raising acclamations, signified their approbation of the will; while the rest, affected as if they had lost their parent, dreaded all things in a state thus bereft of its protector. The king's funeral was next performed, and more through the love and affection of his subjects than any care of his relations, was numerously attended. In a little time after, Andranodorus displaced the other guardians, asserting that Hieronymus had attained to the years of manhood, and was capable of holding the government; and by thus resigning the guardianship which he held in common with many, he collected in himself singly the power of them all.

5. Scarcely would even a good and moderate prince, suc-

ceeding one so highly beloved as Hiero, have found it easy to acquire the affections of the Syracusans. But Hieronymus, as if he meant by his own faults to excite grief for the loss of his grandfather, demonstrated immediately on his first appearance how great an alteration had taken place in every particular: for the people, who had for so many years seen Hiero and his son Gilon no way differing from the rest of the citizens, either in the fashion of their dress or any other mark of distinction, now beheld purple and a diadem; armed guards, and the king sometimes issuing from his palace, as the tyrant Dionysius used to do, in a chariot drawn by four white horses. This assuming pride in equipage and show naturally exposed him to universal contempt; besides which, he showed a disdainful carriage when addressed, and rudeness in answering; generally refused access not only to strangers, but even to his guardians, and debased himself by lusts of uncommon kinds and inhuman cruelty. Such great terror therefore possessed all men, that of his household, some had recourse to flight, others to a voluntary death, to avoid the sufferings which they apprehended. Two of the former, Andranodorus and Zoippus, the sons-in-law of Hiero, and a man named Thraso, were the only persons permitted to enter his house with any degree of familiarity; and though not much listened to on other subjects, yet when they argued, Andranodorus and Zoippus for taking part with the Carthaginians, and Thraso for maintaining the alliance with the Romans, they sometimes, by the warmth and earnestness of their disputes, attracted the young man's attention. While matters were in this situation, a servant who was of the same age with Hieronymus, and had from childhood enjoyed the privileges of perfect familiarity with him, brought information of a plot formed against his life. The informer could name only one of the conspirators, Theodotus, by whom himself had been sounded on the subject. This man being instantly seized and delivered to Andranodorus to be put to the torture, without hesitation confessed himself guilty, but still concealed his accomplices. At last, being racked beyond what human patience could endure, he pretended to be overcome by his sufferings; but instead of making discovery of the plotters, he pointed his informations against persons who had no concern in the business, telling a feigned story, that Thraso was the author of the conspiracy, and that the others would never have entered on any attempt of such importance had they not been induced to it by their trust in so powerful a leader; naming at the same time those who, while he framed his account in the intervals between his agonies and groans, occurred to him as the most worthless among Hieronymus's intimates.

The mention of Thraso, beyond every other circumstance, made the tyrant think the information deserving of belief. He was therefore instantly consigned to punishment, and the rest who had been named, equally guiltless of the crime, underwent the like fate. Not one of the conspirators, though their associate in the plot was kept for a long time under the torture, either concealed himself or fled: so great was their confidence in the fortitude and fidelity of Theodotus; and which indeed were fully approved in him.

6. The only bond which preserved the connexion with Rome being now dissolved by the removal of Thraso, immediately there appeared a manifest intention of siding with the opposite party. Ambassadors were despatched to Hannibal, who sent back a young man of noble birth called Hannibal, and with him Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were born at Carthage, but derived their extraction originally from Syracuse, whence their grandfather had been banished; by the mother's side they were Carthaginians. By their means a treaty was formed between Hannibal and the tyrant of Syracuse; and with the approbation of the Carthaginian, they remained with the latter. The pretor, Appius Claudius, whose province Sicily was, on being acquainted with these transactions, sent immediately ambassadors to Hieronymus, who telling him that they were come to renew the alliance which had subsisted with his grandfather, were heard and dismissed with derision; Hieronymus asking them with a sneer, "What had been the event of the battle of Cannæ? For Hannibal's ambassadors told things scarcely credible. He wished," he said, "to know the truth, that he might thereby determine which side offered the fairest prospect to his choice." The Romans told him, that when he began to listen to embassies with seriousness, they would return to Syracuse; and, after admonishing rather than requesting him not to violate faith rashly, they departed. Hieronymus despatched commissioners to Carthage to conclude an alliance conformable to the treaty with Hannibal; and it was finally agreed that when they should have expelled the Romans from Sicily, which he said would speedily be effected if they sent ships and an army, the river Himera, which nearly divides the island into two parts, should be the boundary between the dominions of Syracuse and those of Carthage. Afterward, puffed up by the flatteries of people who desired him to remember, not only Hiero, but also his grandfather by his mother's side, King Pyrrhus, he sent another embassy, representing that he thought it reasonable that Sicily should be entirely ceded to him, and that the dominion of Italy should be acquired for the people of Carthage, as an empire of their own. This fickleness and unsteadiness of

mind they, considering him as a hot-brained youth, did not wonder at; nor did they enter into any dispute on it, content with detaching him from the party of the Romans.

7. But on his side every circumstance concurred to precipitate his ruin; for after sending before him Hippocrates and Epicydes with two thousand soldiers to endeavour to get possession of those cities which were held by Roman garrisons, he himself, with all the rest of his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand horse and foot, marched to Leontini. Here the conspirators, every one of whom happened to be in the army, posted themselves in an uninhabited house, standing in a narrow lane, through which Hieronymus used to pass to the forum. While the rest stood here armed and prepared for action, waiting for his coming up, one of their number, whose name was Dinomenes, and being one of the bodyguards, had it in charge, that as soon as the king drew near the door, he should, on some pretence, in the narrow pass, stop the crowd behind from advancing. All was executed as had been concerted. Dinomenes, by stretching out his foot, as if to loosen a knot which was too tight, arrested the people, and occasioned such an opening, that the king being attacked as he was passing by without his armed followers, was pierced with several wounds before assistance could be given him. Some, on hearing the shout and tumult, discharged their weapons at Dinomenes, who now openly opposed their passing; notwithstanding which he escaped with only two wounds. However, seeing the king stretched on the ground, they betook themselves to flight. Of the conspirators, some repaired to the forum to the populace, who were overjoyed at the recovery of liberty; others proceeded to Syracuse, to take the requisite precautions against the purposes of Andranodorus and other partisans of the king. Affairs being in this unsettled state, Appius Claudius, when he observed the storm gathering in his neighbourhood, informed the senate by letter, that all Sicily favoured the people of Carthage and Hannibal. On his part, in order to counteract the designs of the Syracusans, he drew all his troops to the frontiers between that kingdom and his own province. Towards the close of this year Quintus Fabius, by direction of the senate, fortified Puteoli, which during the war began to be much frequented as a place of trade, and placed a garrison in it. Going thence to Rome to hold the elections, he issued a proclamation for the assembly on the first day on which it could properly meet; and passing by the city without stopping, went down to the field of Mars. On this day the lot of giving the first vote fell to a younger century of the Anien tribe, and this having nominated Titus

Otacilius and Marcus Æmilius Regillus consuls, Quintus Fabius commanded silence, and spoke to this effect:—

8. "If either we had peace in Italy, or had to deal with such an enemy as would allow of any remissness on our side, I should deem that man deficient in proper respect to your independent rights, who attempted to throw any obstacle in the way of those inclinations which you bring with you into the field of election, with the purpose of conferring the high offices of the state on persons of your own choice. But when you consider that the present war is of such a nature, and the conduct of our present enemy such that none of our commanders has ever committed an error which has not been followed by most disastrous consequences, it behooves you to come hither to give your suffrages with the same careful circumspection with which you go out in arms to the field of battle; and every one ought to say to himself: 'I am to nominate a consul qualified to vie with Hannibal in the art of war.' In the present year, at Capua, on the challenge of Jubellius Taurea, the completest horseman among the Campanians, we sent against him Claudius Asellus, the completest horseman among the Romans. Against a Gaul, who at a former time pronounced a challenge on the bridge of the Anio, our ancestors sent Titus Manlius, a man abundantly furnished both with strength and courage. I cannot deny that there was the same reason for placing every degree of confidence, a few years after, in Marcus Valerius, when he took arms for the combat against a Gaul who gave a similar defiance. Now as, in selecting foot-soldiers and horsemen, we endeavour to find such as are superior, or, if that cannot be effected, equal in strength to their antagonists, let us in like manner look out for a commander equal to the general of the enemy. When we shall have chosen the man of the most consummate abilities in the nation, yet still, being elected at the moment, and appointed but for one year, he will be matched against another invested with a command of long and uninterrupted continuance, not confined by any narrow limitations either of time or of authority, or which might hinder him to conduct and execute every measure according to the exigences of the war; whereas with us, before we have well completed our preparatory operations, and when we are just entering on business, our year expires. I need say no more concerning the qualifications of the persons whom you ought to elect consuls; I shall therefore only add a few observations respecting those whom the prerogative century has made the objects of its favour. Marcus Æmilius Regillus is flamen of Quirinus, consequently we could neither send him abroad from his sacred employment, nor keep him at home, without neglecting, in one case the business of

the war, or in the other, that of religion. Otacilius is married to a daughter of my sister, and has children by her. Nevertheless, I am too sensible of the obligations which I and my ancestors owe to your kindness, not to prefer the interest of the public to that of any private connexions. In a calm sea any mariner, even a passenger, can steer the vessel; but when a furious storm arises, putting the sea into violent agitation, and the ship is hurried away by the tempest, then a pilot of skill and resolution becomes necessary. We sail not in a calm, but have already been very near foundering in several storms; you must therefore be careful to use the utmost prudence and caution with respect to the person whom you place at the helm. Titus Otacilius, we have had a trial of you in a less important business: you gave us no proof that we ought to confide in you for the management of affairs of greater moment. We fitted out this year a fleet, of which you had the command, for three purposes; to ravage the coast of Africa, to secure our own coasts of Italy, and, principally, to prevent reinforcements with money and provisions being transmitted from Carthage to Hannibal. If he has performed for the public, I do not say all, but any one of these services, create Titus Otacilius consul: but if, on the contrary, while you held the command of the fleet, every thing came to Hannibal safe and untouched, as if he had no enemy on the sea; if the coast of Italy has been more infested this year than that of Africa; what reason can you offer why people should pitch on you in particular to oppose such a commander as Hannibal? If you were consul, we should judge it requisite to have a dictator nominated according to the practice of our forefathers: nor could you take offence at its being thought that there was, in the Roman nation, some one superior to you in the art of war. It concerns no man's interest more than your own, Titus Otacilius, that there be not laid on your shoulders a burden under which you would sink. I earnestly recommend then, Romans, that, guided by the same sentiments which would influence you, if, while you stood armed for battle, you were suddenly called on to choose two commanders, under whose conduct and auspices you were to fight, you would proceed this day in the election of consuls, to whom your children are to swear obedience, at whose order they are to join the colours, and under whose care and direction they are to wage war. The lake Thrasymenus and Cannæ, examples melancholy in the recollection, are nevertheless useful warnings to guard against the like. Crier, call back the younger Aulian century to vote."

9. Otacilius, now exclaiming with great heat that the design of Fabius was to be continued in the consulship, and

becoming very obstreperous, the consul ordered his lictors to advance to him; and, as he had not entered the city, but had gone directly, without halting, into the field of Mars, he put him in mind, that the axes were carried in his fasces. The prerogative century proceeded a second time to vote, and chose consuls, Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fourth time, and Marcus Marcellus, a third time. The other centuries, without any variation, named the same. One pretor was likewise re-elected, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. The other three chosen were new ones, Titus Otacilius Crassus, a second time, Quintus Fabius, the consul's son, who was at the time curule edile, and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. The election of pretors being over, a decree of the senate was passed, that "Rome should, out of course, be the province of Quintus Fulvius; and that he in particular should hold the command in the city, when the consuls should go abroad to the campaign." Twice in this year happened great floods, and the Tiber overflowed the country, with great demolition of houses and destruction of men and cattle. In the fifth year of the second Punic war [A. U. C. 538. B. C. 214] Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fourth, and Marcus Marcellus, a third time, entering together into the consulship, attracted the notice of the public in an unusual degree; for during many years there had not been two such consuls. The old men observed that thus had Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius been declared consuls, in the time of the Gallic war; and thus, afterward, Papirius and Carvilius, against the Samnites, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Tarentines. Marcellus was chosen consul in his absence, being at the time with the army, and the office was continued to Fabius, who was on the spot, and presided in person at the election. The state of the times, the exigences of the war, and the danger threatening the very being of the state, hindered the people from examining the precedent strictly, neither did they suspect the consul of ambition for command; on the contrary, they rather applauded his greatness of soul, because, knowing that the state stood in need of a general of the highest abilities, and that he himself was unquestionably the person so qualified, he had made light of any public-censure which he might incur on the occasion, in comparison with the interest of the commonwealth.

10. On the day of the consuls' entering on their office, a meeting of the senate was held in the capitol, in which it was decreed, first, that the consuls should cast lots, or settle between themselves, which of them should, before his setting out for the army, hold the assembly for the appointment of censors. Then all those who were at the head of armies were continued in authority, and ordered to remain in th

provinces: Tiberius Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with an army of volunteer slaves: Caius Terentius Varro in the Picenian, and Manius Pomponius in the Gallic territories. Of the pretors of the preceding year, Quintus Mucius was ordered in quality of proprætor to hold the government of Sardinia, and Marcus Valerius to command on the seacoast near Brundisium, watching attentively, and guarding against any motion which might be made by Philip king of Macedonia. To Publius Cornelius Lentulus the province of Sicily was decreed, and to Titus Otacilius the same fleet which he had commanded the year before against the Carthaginians. Numerous prodigies were reported to have happened this year; and the more these were credited by simple and superstitious people, the more such stories multiplied: that at Lanuvium crows had built their nest in the inside of the temple of Juno Sospita; in Apulia, a green palm-tree took fire; at Mantua, a stagnating piece of water, caused by the overflowing of the river Mincius, appeared as of blood; at Cales, a shower of chalk; and, in the cattle-market at Rome, one of blood fell in the Istrian street; a fountain under ground burst out in such an impetuous stream, as to roll and carry off jars and casks which were in the place, like a violent flood; lightning fell on the public courthouse in the capitol, the temple of Vulcan in the field of Mars, a nut-tree in the country of the Sabines, and a public road, a wall, and a gate at Gabii. Other stories of miracles were already spread about; that the spear of Mars at Præneste moved forward of its own accord; that an ox spoke in Sicily; that an infant in a mother's womb, in the country of the Marucinians, had called out, "Io, Triumpe!" at Spoleto a woman was transferred into a man, and at Adria an altar was seen in the sky, and around it figures of men in white garments. Nay, even in the city of Rome itself, besides a swarm of bees being seen in the forum, several persons, affirming that they saw armed legions on the Janiculum, roused the citizens to arms; when those who were at the time on the Janiculum asserted that no person had appeared there except the usual inhabitants of that hill. These prodigies were expiated, conformably to the answers of the aruspices, by victims of the greater kinds, and supplication was ordered to be performed to all the deities who had shrines at Rome.

11. Having finished the ceremonies enjoined for conciliating the favour of the gods, the consuls proposed to the senate to take into consideration the state of the nation, the management of the war, the number of forces to be employed, and the places where the several divisions were to act. It was resolved that eighteen legions should be employed

against the enemy; that each of the consuls take two to himself; two should be employed in the defence of the provinces of Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia; that Quintus Fabius, prætor, should have two under his command in Apulia, and Tiberius Gracchus two of volunteer slaves in the country about Luceria; that one should be left to Caius Terentius, præconsul for Picenum, one to Marcus Valerius for the fleet at Brundisium, and that two should garrison the city. In order to fill up this number of legions, it was necessary to levy six new ones, which the consuls were ordered to raise as soon as possible; and, at the same time, to fit out an additional number of ships; so that, including those which were stationed on the coasts of Calabria, the fleet should this year consist of a hundred and fifty ships of war. The levy being finished, and the new vessels launched, Quintus Fabius held an assembly for the appointment of censors, when Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were elected. A rumour spreading that war had broke out in Sicily, Titus Otacilius was ordered to proceed thither with his fleet; and there being a scarcity of seamen, the consuls, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, published a proclamation that every person, who in the censorship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius had been rated, or whose father had been rated, at fifty thousand asses of brass,* or, from that sum, up to one hundred thousand,† or had since acquired such a property, should furnish one seaman with pay for six months; every one rated from a hundred thousand, up to three hundred thousand,‡ three seamen, with pay for a year; every one rated from three hundred thousand, up to one million,§ five seamen; every one rated higher, seven; and that senators should provide eight seamen each, with pay for a year. The seamen furnished in obedience to this ordinance being armed and equipped by their owners, went on board the ships, with provisions ready dressed for thirty days. This was the first instance of a Roman fleet being manned at the expense of private persons.

12. These preparations, so unusually great, raised fears among the Campanians in particular, lest the Romans should begin the campaign with the siege of Capua. They sent ambassadors therefore to Hannibal, entreating him to march his army to that place: acquainting him that "the Romans were raising new armies for the purpose of laying siege to it, for there was no city against which they were more highly incensed for having deserted their party." As this message, and the manner in which it was delivered, intimated

* 160*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*
 † 160*l.* 14*s.*

† 32*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
 § 322*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

such strong apprehensions, Hannibal thought it advisable to proceed with despatch, lest the Romans might be beforehand with him; whereon leaving Arpi, he took possession of his old camp on the Tifata over Capua. Then leaving the Numidians and Spaniards for the defence both of the camp and the city, he marched away with the rest of his forces to the lake of Avernus, under the pretence of performing sacrifice, but in reality with a design to make an attempt on Puteoli and the garrison there. As soon as Maximus received intelligence that Hannibal had departed from Arpi, and was returning into Campania, he hastened back to his army, without halting either night or day, sending orders to Tiberius Gracchus to bring forward his forces from Luceria to Beneventum, and to the pretor Quintus Fabius, son to the consul, to hasten to Luceria, in the place of Gracchus. At the same time the two pretors set out for Sicily. Publius Cornelius to command the army, Otacilius the fleet on the seacoast. The rest also departed to their respective provinces, and those who were continued in command remained in the same districts where they had been in the former year.

13. While Hannibal was at the lake Avernus there came to him from Tarentum five young men of quality, who had been made prisoners, some at the lake Thrasymenus, some at Cannæ, and who had been sent home with that generosity which the Carthaginian showed towards all the allies of the Romans: these told him, that "out of gratitude for his kind treatment, they had persuaded a great number of Tarentine youth to prefer his alliance and friendship to that of the Romans; and that they had been sent as deputies by their countrymen to request that Hannibal would draw his army nearer to Tarentum; that if his standards and his camp were once seen from that place, the city would, without any delay, be delivered into his hands; for the commons were under the influence of the younger men, and the management of public affairs was with the commons." Hannibal, after highly commending and loading them with a profusion of promises, desired them to return home in order to bring the scheme to maturity, saying, that he would be there in due time. With these hopes the Tarentines were dismissed. Hannibal had, before their application, conceived an ardent wish to gain possession of Tarentum; he saw that it was a city not only opulent and of great note, but likewise a seaport, commodiously situated, opposite Macedonia; and that King Philip, should he pass over into Italy, would steer his course to that harbour, because the Romans were in possession of Brundisium. Having performed the sacrifice which he had proposed at his coming, and having during his stay utterly laid

waste the lands of Cumæ, as far as to the promontory of Misenum, he changed his route suddenly to Puteoli, with design to surprise the Roman garrison. This consisted of six thousand men, and the place was secured, not only by the nature of its situation, but by strong works. Here Hannibal delayed three days, and attempted the garrison on every quarter; but, finding no prospect of success, he marched forward to ravage the territory of Neapolis, rather for the sake of gratifying his resentment, than with any hope of becoming master of the town. By his arrival in the neighbourhood, the commons of Nola were encouraged to stir, having for a long time been disaffected to the cause of the Romans, and harbouring at the same time resentment against their own senate. Deputies therefore came to invite Hannibal, with a positive promise to deliver the city into his hands: but the consul Marcellus, whom the nobles solicited, by his expeditious measures prevented the design from taking place. In one day he made a march from Cales to Suessula, though he met with some delay in passing the river Volturnus; and from thence, on the ensuing night, introduced into Nola six thousand foot and three hundred horse, to support the senate. While every precaution requisite for securing the possession of Nola was thus used by the consul with vigorous despatch, Hannibal, on the other side, was dilatory in his proceedings; for, after having twice before been baffled in a project of the same kind, he was now the less inclined to credit the professions of the Nolans.

14. Meanwhile the consul, Quintus Fabius, set out to attempt the recovery of Casilinum, which was held by a Carthaginian garrison; and, at the same time, as if by concert, there arrived at Beneventum, on one side, Hanno from Bruttium, with a large body of infantry and cavalry; and on another, Tiberius Gracchus, from Laceria. The latter came first into the town; then hearing that Hanno was encamped at the river Calor, about three miles distant, and that by detachments from thence devastations were committed on the country, he marched out his troops, pitched his camp about a mile from the enemy, and there held an assembly of his soldiers. The legions which he had with him consisted mostly of volunteer slaves, who had chosen rather to merit their liberty in silence, by the service of a second year, than to request it openly. He had observed, however, as he was leaving his winter-quarters, that the troops, on their march, began to murmur, asking whether "they were ever to serve as free citizens?" He had, however, written to the senate, insisting, not so much on their wishes, as on their merits; declaring that "he had ever found them faithful and brave in the service; and that, excepting

a free condition, they wanted no qualification of complete soldiers." Authority was given him to act in that business as he himself should judge conducive to the good of the public. Before he resolved on coming to an engagement, therefore, he gave public notice, that "the time was now come when they might obtain the liberty which they had so long wished for. That he intended next day to engage the enemy in regular battle, in a clear and open plain, where, without any fear of stratagems, the business might be decided by the mere dint of valour. Every man, then, who should bring home the head of an enemy, he would instantly, by his own authority, set free; and every one who should retreat from his post, he would punish in the same manner as a slave. Every man's lot now depended on his own exertion; and, as security for their obtaining their freedom, not only he himself stood pledged, but the consul Marcellus, and even the whole senate, who, having been consulted by him on the subject of their freedom, had authorized him to determine in the case." He then read the consul's letter and the decree of the senate, on which a universal shout of joy was raised. They eagerly demanded the fight, and ardently pressed him to give the signal instantly. Gracchus gave notice that they should be gratified on the following day, and then dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, exulting with joy, especially those who were to receive liberty as the price of their active efforts for one day, spent the rest of their time until night in getting their arms in readiness.

15. Next day, as soon as the trumpets began to sound to battle, the above-mentioned men, the first of all, assembled round the general's quarters, ready and marshalled for the fight. At sunrise Gracchus led out his troops to the field, nor did the enemy hesitate to meet him. Their force consisted of seventeen thousand foot, mostly Bruttians and Lucanians, and twelve thousand horse, among whom were very few Italians, almost all the rest were Numidians and Moors. The conflict was fierce and long; during four hours neither side gained any advantage, and no circumstance proved a greater impediment to the success of the Romans, than from the heads of the enemy being made the price of liberty; for when any had valiantly slain an opponent, he lost time, first, in cutting off the head, which could not be readily effected in the midst of the crowd and tumult, and then his right hand being employed in securing it, the bravest ceased to take a part in the fight, and the contest devolved on the inactive and dastardly. The military tribunes now represented to Gracchus that the soldiers were not employed in wounding any of the enemy who stood on their legs, but in maiming those who had fallen, and instead

of their own swords in their right hands, they carried the heads of the slain. On which he commanded them to give orders with all haste, that "they should throw away the heads, and attack the enemy: that their courage was sufficiently evident and conspicuous, and that such brave men need not doubt of liberty." The fight was then revived, and the cavalry also were ordered to charge; these were briskly encountered by the Numidians, and the battle of the horse was maintained with no less vigour than that of the foot; so that the event of the day again became doubtful, while the commanders, on both sides, vilified their adversaries in the most contemptuous terms, the Roman speaking to his soldiers of the Lucanians and Bruttians, as men so often defeated and subdued by their ancestors; and the Carthaginian, of the Romans as slaves, soldiers taken out of the workhouse. At last Gracchus proclaimed that his men had no room to hope for liberty unless the enemy were routed that day, and driven off the field.

16. These words so effectually inflamed their courage, that, as if they had been suddenly transformed into other men, they renewed the shout, and bore down on the enemy with an impetuosity which it was impossible longer to withstand. First the Carthaginian vanguard, then the battalions, were thrown into confusion; at last the whole line was forced to give way; then they plainly turned their backs, and fled precipitately into their camp, in such terror and dismay, that none of them made a stand even at the gates or on the rampart; and the Romans following close, so as to form almost one body with them, began anew a second battle within their works. Here, as the fight was more impeded by the narrowness of the place, so was the slaughter more dreadful, the prisoners also lending assistance, who, during the confusion, snatched up weapons, and forming in a body, cut off numbers in the rear. So great, therefore, was the carnage, that out of so large an army, scarcely two thousand men, most of whom were horsemen, escaped with their commander: all the rest were either slain or made prisoners; thirty-eight standards were taken. Of the victorious party there fell about two thousand. All the booty was given up to the soldiers, except the prisoners, and such cattle as should be claimed by the owners within thirty days. When they returned into the camp, laden with spoil, about four thousand of the volunteer soldiers, who had fought with less spirit than the rest, and had not broken into the Carthaginian camp along with them, dreading punishment, withdrew to an eminence at a small distance. Next day they were brought down from thence by a military tribune, and arrived just as Gracchus was holding an assembly, which he had

summoned. Here the proconsul, having, in the first place, honoured with military presents the veteran soldiers, according to the degree of courage and activity shown by each in the fight, said that, "as to what concerned the volunteers, he rather wished that all in general, worthy and unworthy, should receive commendations from him, than that any should be reprimanded on such a day as that;" and then praying that "it might prove advantageous, happy, and fortunate to the commonwealth and to themselves," he pronounced them all free. On which declaration, in transports of joy, they raised a general shout, and while they now embraced and congratulated each other, raising their hands towards heaven, and praying for every blessing on the Roman people, and on Gracchus in particular, the proconsul addressed them thus: "Before I had set all on an equal footing of freedom, I was unwilling to distinguish any by a mark, either of bravery or of cowardice. But now, since I have acquitted the honour of government, lest every distinction between them be lost, I will order the names of those who, conscious of being remiss in the action, have lately made a secession, to be laid before me; and, summoning each, will bind them by an oath that, as long as they shall serve me in the army, they will never, except obliged by sickness, take food or drink in any other posture than standing. This penalty you will undergo with patience, if you consider that your cowardice could not be more slightly branded." He then gave the signal of preparation for a march, and the soldiers carrying and driving on their booty, returned to Beneventum so cheerful and so gay, that they seemed to have come home from a feast given on some remarkable occasion, rather than from a field of battle. All the Beneventans poured out in crowds to meet them at the gates, embraced the soldiers, congratulated them, and pressed them to come to their houses. They had already prepared entertainments in their inner courts, and entreated Gracchus to permit his soldiers to partake of the same. Gracchus gave them leave, on condition that they should all dine in the public street: every thing was accordingly brought out before each person's door, where the volunteers dined with the caps of liberty, or white woollen fillets in their hands, some reclining, others standing, who at the same time attended the rest. This afforded a sight so pleasing, that Gracchus, on his return to Rome, ordered a representation of that day's festival to be painted in the temple of Liberty, which his father caused to be built on the Aventine, out of money accruing from the fines, and which he afterward dedicated.

17. While these transactions passed at Beneventum, Hannibal, after ravaging the lands of Neapolis, marched his ar-

my to Nola. The consul, as soon as he was apprized of his approach, sent for the proprætor Pomponius, and the army which lay in the camp over Suessula; being determined to go out, and not to decline an engagement with him. He sent Caius Claudius Nero with the main strength of the cavalry, in the dead of the night, through the gate which was most distant from the enemy; ordering him to ride round so as not to be observed, until he came behind their army; to follow them leisurely as they moved; and, as soon as he should perceive that the battle was begun, to advance on their rear. What prevented Nero from executing these orders, whether mistake of the road or the shortness of the time, is uncertain. Although the battle was fought while he was absent, yet the Romans had evidently the advantage; but by the cavalry not coming up in time the plan of operations was disconcerted. Marcellus, not daring to follow the retiring foe, gave the signal for retreat, while his men were pursuing their success. However, more than two thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen that day; of the Romans, less than four hundred. About sunset Nero returned, after having to no purpose fatigued the men and horses through the whole day and night, without even getting a sight of the Carthaginian: he was very severely reprimanded by the consul, who went so far as to affirm that he was the cause of their not having retorted on the enemy the disaster suffered at Cannæ. Next day the army marched out to the field, but Hannibal, tacitly acknowledging his defeat, kept within his trenches. In the dead of the night of the third day, giving up all hope of getting possession of Nola, a project never attempted without loss, he marched away towards Tarentum, where he had a greater prospect of success.

18. Nor did less spirit appear in the administration of the Roman affairs at home than in the field. The censors being, by the emptiness of the treasury, discharged from the care of erecting public works, turned their attention to the regulating of men's morals, and checking the growth of vices, which, like distempered bodies, ever apt to generate other maladies, had sprung up during the war. First, they summoned before them those who, after the battle of Cannæ, were said to have formed the design of deserting the commonwealth, and abandoning Italy. At the head of these was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, who happened to be questor at the time. They then ordered him, and the others accused of the same criminal conduct, to plead to the charge: and as these could not clear themselves, they pronounced judgment, that those persons had made use of words and discourses tending to the detriment of the commonwealth, inasmuch as they purported the forming of a conspiracy for the purpose of

abandoning Italy. Next to these were summoned the over-indulgent casuists with respect to the means of dissolving the obligation of an oath, who supposed that, by returning privately into Hannibal's camp, after having begun their journey with the rest of the prisoners, they should fulfil the oath which they had taken. Of these, and the others above mentioned, such as had horses at the public expense, were deprived of them, and they were all degraded from their tribes and disfranchised. Nor was the care of the censors confined merely to the regulating of the senate and the equestrian order. They erased from the lists of the younger centuries the names of all those who had not served as soldiers during the last four years, not having been regularly exempted from service, or prevented by sickness. These, in number above two thousand, were disfranchised, and all were degraded from their tribes. To this simple censorial sentence was added a severe decree of the senate, that all those whom the censors had degraded should serve as foot-soldiers, and be sent into Sicily to join the remains of the army of Cannæ; the time limited for the service of soldiers of this description being until the enemy should be driven out of Italy. While the censors now, on account of the impoverished treasury, declined contracting for the repairs of the sacred edifices, the furnishing of horses to the curule magistrates, and other matters of like nature, a great number of those who had been accustomed to engage in contracts of the kind waited on them, and recommended that they "transact every kind of business, and engage in contracts, in the same manner as if there were money in the coffers; assuring them that no one would call on the treasury for payment until the conclusion of the war." Afterward came the former owners of those whom Tiberius Sempronius had made free at Beneventum; who said that they had been sent for by the public bankers, in order that they might receive the price of their slaves, but that they did not desire it until the war should be at an end. When this disposition to support the credit of the treasury appeared among the plebeian class, the property belonging to minors and of widows began to be brought in; the people believing that they could not deposit it anywhere in greater security, or with more religious regard to their trust, than under the public faith: and when any thing was brought or laid in for the use of the said minors or widows, a bill was given for it on the questor. This generous zeal of the private ranks spread from the city into the camp, where no horseman, no centurion, would take his pay; and should any have received it, the others would have censured them as mercenary.

19. The consul, Quintus Fabius, lay encamped before-

Casilinum, which was defended by a garrison of two thousand Campanians, and seven hundred of Hannibal's soldiers. The commander was Statius Metius, sent thither by Cneius Magius Atellanus, who was chief magistrate that year, and was now employed in arming the populace and the slaves promiscuously, intending to attack the Roman camp while the consul was laying siege to the city. None of his designs escaped the knowledge of Fabius, who therefore sent a message to his colleague at Nola, that "while the siege of Casilinum was carried on, there was a necessity for another army to oppose the Campanians: that either he himself should come, leaving a moderate garrison at Nola, or, if affairs there required his stay, from not yet being in a state of security against the attempts of Hannibal, he should in that case send for the proconsul Tiberius Gracchus from Beneventum." On receiving this message, Marcellus, leaving two thousand men to garrison Nola, came with the rest of his army to Casilinum; and by his arrival the Campanians, who were upon the point of breaking out into action, were kept quiet. And now the two consuls, with united forces, pushed on the siege. But the Roman soldiers, in their rash approaches to the walls, receiving many wounds, and meeting little success in any of their attempts, Quintus Fabius gave his opinion that they ought to abandon an enterprise which, though of slight importance, was attended with as much difficulty as one of great consequence; and that they should retire from the place, especially as more momentous business called for their attention. Marcellus prevented their quitting the siege with disappointment, urging that there were many enterprises of such a nature that, as they ought not to be undertaken by great generals, so, when once engaged in, they ought not to be relinquished, because the reputation either of success or of failure must be productive of weighty consequences. All kinds of works were then constructed, and machines of every description pushed forward to the walls. On this the Campanians requested of Fabius that they might be allowed to retire in safety to Capua, when, a few having come out of the town, Marcellus seized on the pass by which they came, and immediately a promiscuous slaughter began near the gate; and soon after, on the troops rushing in, it spread through the city. About fifty of the Campanians, who first left the place, ran for refuge to Fabius, and under his protection escaped to Capua. Thus was Casilinum taken by surprise during the conferences and delays of those who went to negotiate terms of capitulation. The prisoners, both Campanians and Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome, and there shut up in prison; and the multi-

tude of the townspeople were dispersed among the neighbouring states, to be kept in custody.

20. At the same time, when the army, after effecting their purpose, removed from Casilinum, Gracchus, who was in Lucania, detached under a prefect of the allies several cohorts which had been raised in that country, to ravage the lands of the enemy. These Hanno attacked while they straggled in a careless manner, and retaliated a blow almost as severe as that which he had received at Beneventum; then, to avoid being overtaken by Gracchus, he retired with the utmost speed into Bruttium. As to the consuls, Marcellus returned to Nola, whence he had come; Fabius proceeded into Samnium, in order to overrun the country, and recover by force the cities which had revolted. The Samnites of Caudium suffered the most grievous devastations: their territory was laid waste with fire to a great extent, and men and cattle were carried off as spoil. The following towns were taken from them by assault: Comulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Malm, Fufula, and Orbitanium; from the Lucanians, Blandis; *Æcar*, belonging to the Apulians, was taken after a siege. In these towns twenty-five thousand were taken or slain, and three hundred and seventy deserters retaken; these, being sent by the consul to Rome, were all beaten with rods in the comitium, and cast down from the rock. All this was performed by Fabius in the course of a few days. Bad health confined Marcellus at Nola, and prevented his taking the field. At the same time the pretor, Quintus Fabius, whose province was the country round Luceria, took by storm a town called Accum, and fortified a strong camp near Ardouca. While the Romans were thus employed in various places, Hannibal had arrived at Tarentum, after utterly destroying every thing in his way. At last, when he entered the territory of Tarentum, his troops began to march in a peaceable manner: nothing was injured there, nor did any ever go out of the road: this proceeding flowed manifestly not from the moderation either of the soldiers or their commander, but from a wish to acquire the esteem of the Tarentines. However, after he had advanced almost close to the walls, finding no commotion raised in his favour, an event which he expected to happen on the sight of his vanguard, he encamped about the distance of a mile from the town. Three days before Hannibal's approach, Marcus Livius being sent by the propretor, Marcus Valerius, commander of the fleet at Brundisium, had formed the young nobility of Tarentum into bodies; and posting guards at every gate, and along the walls, wherever there was occasion, by his unremitting vigilance, both by day, and more particularly by night, left no room

for any attempt, either of the enemy or of the wavering allies. Wherefore, after many days had been spent there to no purpose, Hannibal, finding that none of those who had attended him at the lake Avernus, either came themselves or sent any message or letter, and perceiving that he inconsiderately suffered himself to be led by delusive promises, decamped and withdrew. He did not even then do any injury to their country; for though his counterfeited tenderness had brought him no advantage, yet he still entertained hopes of prevailing on them to renounce their present engagements. When he came to Salapia he collected there stores of corn from the lands of Metapontum and Heraclea, for mid-summer was now past, and the place appeared commodious for winter-quarters. From hence he sent out the Moors and Numidians to plunder the territory of Sallentum, and the nearest woody parts of Apulia, where not much booty was found of any other kind than horses, several studs of which made the principal part of their acquisitions; of these four thousand were distributed among the horsemen to be trained.

21. The Romans, seeing that a war of no slight moment was ready to break out in Sicily, and that the death of the tyrant had only given the Syracusans enterprising leaders, without working any change in their principles or tempers, decreed that province to the consul Marcus Marcellus. Immediately after the murder of Hieronymus, the soldiers in Leontini had raised a tumult, furiously exclaiming that the death of the king should be expiated by the blood of the conspirators. Afterward, the words "liberty restored," a sound ever delightful to the ear, being frequently repeated, and hopes being held out of largesses from the royal treasure, of serving under better generals, mention at the same time being made of the tyrant's shocking crimes, and more shocking lusts; all these together produced such an alteration in their sentiments, that they suffered the body of the king, whom just now they had so violently lamented, to lie without burial. The rest of the conspirators remained in the place in order to secure the army on their side; but Theodotus and Sosia, getting on horseback, galloped with all possible speed to Syracuse, wishing to surprise the king's party, while ignorant of every thing that had happened. But not only report, than which nothing is quicker on such occasions, but likewise an express, by one of Hieronymus's servants, had arrived before them. Wherefore Andranodorus had strengthened with garrisons both the island* and the citadel,

* Syracuse was founded by a colony of Athenians, and rose gradually to the very first rank of greatness and splendour. At the time of these

and also every other post which was convenient for his purpose. After sunset, in the dusk of the evening, Theodotus and Sosis rode into the Hexapylum, and having shown the king's garments died with blood, and the ornament which he wore on his head, passed on through the Tycha, calling the people at once to liberty and to arms, and desiring them to come all together into the Achradina. As to the populace, some ran out into the street, some stood in the porches of their houses, some looked on from the roofs and windows, all inquiring into the cause of the commotion. Every place blazed with lights, and was filled with various confused noises. Such as had arms assembled in the open places; such as had none pulled down from the temple of Olympian Jove the spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians, presented to Hiero by the Roman people, and hung up there by him; beseeching the god to lend, with good-will, those consecrated weapons to men taking them up in defence of their country, of the temples of the deities, and of their liberty. This multitude was also joined to the watch stationed in the several principal quarters of the city. In the island, Andranodorus had, among other places, occupied the public granary with a guard: this place, which was enclosed with hewn stone, and built up to a great height, like a citadel, was seized by the band of youths appointed by Andranodorus to garrison it, and they despatched a message to the Achradina, that the corn therein was at the disposal of the senate.

22. At the first dawn the whole body of the people, armed and unarmed, came together into the Achradina to the senate-house; and there, from an altar of Concord which stood in the place, one of the principal nobles, by name Polyænus, made a speech fraught with sentiments both of liberty and moderation. He said that "men who had experienced the hardships of servitude and insult, knew the extent of the evil

ransactions it consisted of four parts, each of which deserved the name of a city:—1. The island, called also Ortygia, was joined to the mainland by a bridge, and, stretching out into the bay, formed two harbours, a large one to the southeast, and a smaller one on the northwest. Here stood the royal palace and the treasury, and, at the remotest point, the fountain Arethusa arises. 2. The Achradina. This was the largest and strongest division of the city; it stretched along the bottom of the lesser harbour, whose waters washed it, and was divided from the other parts by a strong wall. 3. The Tycha, so named from a remarkable temple of Fortune, formed the southeastern part of the city. 4. Neapolis, or the New Town: this was the latest built, and lay westward of the Tycha. The principal entrance into this part was guarded by a fort called Hexapylum, from its having six gates. To this part belonged Epipolæ, an eminence commanding a view of the whole city. Of this once famous city the only part now inhabited is the island. The ruins of the rest are about twenty-two miles in circumference, and are covered with vineyards, orchards, and corn fields.

against which they vented their resentment; but what calamities civil discord introduces, the Syracusans could have learned only from the relations of their fathers, not from their own experience. He applauded them for the readiness with which they had taken arms, and would applaud them yet more if they did not make use of them unless constrained by the last necessity. At present he thought it advisable that they should send deputies to Andranodorus, to require of him to be amenable to the direction of the senate and people, to open the gates of the island, and withdraw the garrison. If he meant, under the pretext of being guardian of the sovereignty for another, to usurp it into his own hands, he recommended it to them to recover their liberty by much keener exertions than had been shown against Hieronymus. Accordingly, on the breaking up of the assembly deputies were sent. The meetings of the senate were now revived; for though it had during the reign of Hiero continued to act as the public council of the state, yet since his death until now it had never been convened or consulted on any business. When the commissioners came to Andranodorus, he was much moved by the united voices of his countrymen, by their being in possession of the other quarters of the city, and moreover by that division of the island, which was the strongest, being lost to him, and in the hands of the other party. But his wife, Demarata, daughter of Hiero, still swelling with royal arrogance and female pride, reminded him of an expression frequently uttered by Dionysius the tyrant, who used to say that "a man ought to relinquish sovereign power when he was dragged by the feet, not while he sat on horseback. It was easy," she said, "at any moment to resign the possession of a high station; to arrive at, and acquire it, was difficult and arduous." Desired him to "ask from the ambassadors a little time for consideration, and to employ it in sending for the soldiers from Leontini, to whom, if he promised some of the royal treasure, he might dispose of every thing at his pleasure." These counsels, suited to the character of the woman, Andranodorus neither totally rejected nor immediately adopted; judging it the safer way to the acquisition of power to yield to the times for the present. He therefore desired the deputies to carry back for answer, that "he would be obedient to the directions of senate and people." Next day at the first light he opened the gates of the island, and went into the forum in the Achradina. There he ascended the altar of Concord, from whence Polyseus had addressed the people the day before, and first, at the beginning of his discourse, spent some time in entreating their pardon for the delay which he had made, for "he had kept the gates shut," he said, "not with intention to separate

his own interest from that of the public, but through fearful uncertainty, the sword being once drawn, when, and in what way an end might be put to the shedding of blood; whether they would be content with the death of the tyrant, which was all that the cause of liberty required, or whether all who had any connexion with the court, either by consanguinity, affinity, or employments of any kind, were to be put to death, as accomplices in another's guilt. As soon as he perceived that those who had freed their country meant also, together with liberty, to grant it safety, and that the designs of all aimed at the promotion of the public happiness, he had not hesitated to replace, under the direction of the people, both his own person, and every thing else committed to his charge and guardianship, since the prince who had intrusted him therewith had perished through his own madness." Then turning to those who had killed the tyrant, and addressing Theodotus and Sosis by name, "You have performed," said he, "a memorable exploit: but believe me, the career of your glory is only begun, not finished; and there yet subsists the utmost danger, that unless you exert yourselves immediately to secure peace and harmony, the nation may carry liberty to licentiousness."

23. After this discourse he laid the keys of the gates and of the royal treasure at their feet. Being dismissed full of joy, the people, with their wives and children, spent that day in offering thanksgivings in all the temples of the gods, and on the day following an assembly was held for the election of pretors. Among the first was chosen Andranodorus; the greater number of the rest were elected from the band of conspirators against the king: Two of these were absent at the time, Sopater and Dinomenes; who, on hearing what had passed at Syracuse, conveyed thither the money belonging to the king, which was at Leontini, and delivered it to questors appointed for the purpose: to whom was also delivered the treasure which was in the island and in the Achradina. That part of the wall which formed too strong a fence between the island and the city, was with universal approbation demolished. The other events which took place corresponded with the general zeal for liberty which now actuated men's minds: Hippocrates and Epicyles, when intelligence was received of the tyrant's death, which the former had wished to conceal even by the murder of the messenger, were deserted by the soldiers; and, as the safest step in their present circumstances, returned to Syracuse. Lest their stay there should subject them to suspicion, as if they were watching some opportunity for effecting a revolution, they addressed first the pretors, and afterward, through them, the senate; represented that "being sent by Hannibal

to Hieronymus, as to a friend and ally, they had obeyed his orders in conformity to the will of their own commander. That they wished to return to Hannibal, but as they could not travel with safety while every part of Sicily was overspread with the Roman arms, they requested that a guard might be granted to escort them to Locri in Italy, and that thus, with very little trouble, the senate would confer a great obligation on Hannibal." The request was easily obtained, for the senate wished the departure of those generals of the late king, men well skilled in war, and at the same time needy and daring. But this measure, so agreeable to their wishes, they did not execute with the care and expedition requisite. Meanwhile, those young men, accustomed to a military life, employed themselves sometimes among the soldiery; at others, among the deserters, the greatest number of whom were Roman seamen; at others, among the very lowest class of plebeians, in propagating insinuations against the senate and nobility; hinting to them, that "in the appearance of reviving the former alliance, they were secretly forming and preparing to execute a scheme of bringing Syracuse under the dominion of the Romans; and that then their faction, and the few advocates for the renewal of the treaty, would domineer without control."

24. Crowds of people disposed to listen to and believe such reports, flocked into Syracuse in great numbers every day, and afforded not only to Epicydes, but to Andranodorus likewise, some hopes of effecting a revolution. The latter, wearied by the importunities of his wife, who urged that "now was the time to possess himself of the sovereignty, while all was in a state of disorder, in consequence of liberty being lately recovered, but not yet established on a regular footing; while the soldiers, who owed their livelihood to the pay received from the late king, were yet at hand, and while the commanders sent by Hannibal, who were well acquainted with those soldiers, could aid the enterprise," took, as an associate in his design, Themistus, to whom Gelon's daughter was married; and in a few days after, incautiously disclosed the affair to one Ariston, an actor on the stage, whom he was accustomed to intrust with other secrets, a man whose birth and circumstances were both reputable; nor did his employment disgrace them, because among the Greeks that profession is not considered as dishonourable. This man resolving to be guided by the duty which he owed to his country, discovered the matter to the pretors; who having learned by unquestionable proof that the information was well founded, first consulted the elder senators, by whose advice he placed a guard at the door of the senate-house, and as soon as Themistus and Andranodorus entered, put

them to death. This fact, in appearance uncommonly atrocious, the cause of which was unknown to the rest, occasioned a violent uproar; but having at length procured silence, they brought the informer into the senate-house. He then gave a regular detail of every circumstance, showing that the conspiracy owed its origin to the marriage of Gelon's daughter Harmonia with Themistus; that the auxiliary troops of Africans and Spaniards had been engaged for the purpose of massacring the pretors and others of the nobility, whose property, according to orders given, was to be the booty of their murderers; that a band of mercenaries, accustomed to the command of Andranodorus, had been procured with the design of seizing again on the island. He afterward laid before them every particular; what things were to be done, and by whom, together with the whole plan of the conspiracy, supported by men with arms ready to execute it. On which the senate gave judgment that they had suffered death as justly as Hieronymus. The crowd round the senate-house being variously disposed, and unacquainted with the real state of the case, became clamorous: but while they were uttering furious threats, the sight of the conspirators' bodies in the porch of the senate-house impressed them with such terror, that they silently followed the well-judging part of the plebeians to an assembly which was summoned. Sopater was commissioned by the senate and his colleagues to explain the matter to the people.

25. He brought his charges against the deceased as if they were then on trial: after taking a review of their former lives, he insisted that whatever wicked and impious acts had been perpetrated since the death of Hiero, Andranodorus and Themistus were the authors of them. "For what," said he, "did the boy Hieronymus ever do by the direction of his own will? What, indeed, could he do, who had scarcely exceeded the years of childhood? His guardians and teachers exercised the sovereign power, screened from the public hatred which fell on him, and therefore ought to have died either before Hieronymus, or with him. Nevertheless, those men who had merited and been doomed to die, have since the death of the tyrant attempted new crimes; at first openly, when Andranodorus, shutting the gates of the island, assumed the throne as his by inheritance, and kept as proprietor what he had held as trustee: afterward, being abandoned by those who were in the island, and blockaded by all the rest of the citizens who held the Acbradina, and finding his open and avowed attempts on the crown ineffectual, he endeavoured to attain it by secret machinations and treachery; nor could he be induced to alter his measures even by kindness and the honour conferred on him; for it

should be remembered, that among the deliverers of their country this treacherous conspirator against its liberty was chosen a pretor. But the spirit of royalty has been infused into these men by their royal consorts, Hiero's daughter married to one, Gelon's to the other." At these words a shout was heard from every part of the assembly, that "none of the race of the tyrants ought to live." Such is the nature of the populace; they are either abject slaves or tyrannic masters. Liberty, which consists in a mean between these, they either undervalue, or know not how to enjoy with moderation; and, in general, there are not wanting agents disposed to foment their passions, who, working on minds which delight in cruelty, and know no restraint in the practice of it, exasperate them to acts of blood and slaughter. Thus, on the present occasion, the pretors instantly proposed the passing of an order, and it was hardly proposed before it was passed, that all the royal family should be put to death; whereon persons sent by these magistrates executed the sentence on Demarata, daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, daughter of Gelon, the wives of Andranodorus and Themistus.

26. There was another daughter of Hiero, called Heraclea, wife to Zoippus; who, having been sent by Hieronymus ambassador to king Ptolemy, had continued abroad in voluntary exile. On getting notice that the executioners were coming to her also, she fled for refuge into the chapel of her household gods, taking with her two maiden daughters, with their hair dishevelled, and their appearance in every other particular calculated to excite compassion: to this she added prayers, beseeching the executioners, "by the memory of her father Hiero, and of her brother Gelon, not to suffer her, an innocent woman, to be involved in ruin under the hatred incurred by Hieronymus. To her nothing had accrued from his being on the throne but the exile of her husband; neither, during the life of Hieronymus, was her situation the same with that of her sister, nor since his death was her cause the same. Must it not be allowed that if Andranodorus had succeeded in his projects, her sister would have reigned with him, whereas she must have been in servitude with the rest? If any one should tell Zoippus that Hieronymus was killed and Syracuse free, who could doubt but he would instantly get on board a ship and return to his country? How deceitful were the hopes of men! Could he imagine that in his native soil, restored to liberty, his wife and children were struggling to preserve their lives; and in what respect did they obstruct the cause of liberty or the laws? What danger could arise from them, a solitary, and, in a manner, widowed woman, and her poor orphan children? But, though no

danger was apprehended from them, yet the whole royal race was detested. Let herself and children be banished far from Syracuse and from Sicily; let them be conveyed to Alexandria; a wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." Finding them still inexorable, and wishing to make the best use of the time, (for she saw some even drawing their swords,) she desisted from farther entreaties for herself, and continued to beseech them "to spare, at least, her daughters, who were children of an age which even enraged enemies would refrain from injuring; and not, while they pursued their revenge against tyrants, to imitate themselves the crimes which had raised their hatred." While she was speaking they dragged her from the sanctuary, and slew her; and then turned their weapons against the children, who were sprinkled with the blood of their mother. But they, deprived of reason by grief and fear together, rushed out of the chapel with such quickness, that had a passage been open to the public street, they would have filled the whole city with tumult: even as it was, though the extent of the house was not great, they several times made their way through the midst of many armed men without receiving a wound, and extricated themselves from those that took hold of them, notwithstanding the number and strength of the hands with which they had to struggle: but, at length, being reduced to the last weakness by wounds, after covering every place with their blood, they fell and expired. This scene, piteous in itself, was rendered yet more so by an incident that ensued; for shortly after arrived a message countermanding their execution, the sentiments of the people having suddenly turned to the side of compassion; and this compassion was soon converted into anger, on account of the precipitancy with which the sentence had been hurried on, so as to leave no time for reconsideration, or the subsiding of passion. The populace, therefore, expressed much discontent, and insisted on an assembly of election to fill up the places of Andranodorus and Themistus, for both had been pretors; and this election was not at all likely to terminate in a manner agreeable to the present pretors.

27. A day was appointed for the election, when, to the surprise of all, some person in the remotest part of the crowd named Epicyles; then another, in the same quarter, Hippocrates; which names were afterward the most frequently repeated, with the manifest approbation of the multitude. The assembly itself was an irregular one; for, not the commons alone, but also great numbers of the soldiery, and even of deserters, who wished to overturn every present establishment, composed the disorderly crowd. The magistrates, at first, pretended ignorance of what was going forward, think-

ing to protract the business; but, at last, overcome by the united voice of so very many, and dreading an insurrection, they declared those men pretors: who, however, did not immediately unveil their sentiments, though greatly chagrined,—first, at ambassadors having gone to Appius Claudius to conclude a truce of ten days, and then, when that was obtained, on others being sent to negotiate a renewal of the old alliance. At this time the Romans had a fleet of a hundred sail at Murgantia, watching what might be the result of the commotions of Syracuse in consequence of the death of the tyrants, and to what points the view of the people might be directed by the late acquisition of liberty, to which they had so long been strangers. Meanwhile, the Syracusan ambassadors had been sent by Appius to Marcellus on his arriving in Sicily; who, when he heard the terms on which they proposed the alliance, conceiving expectations that the business might be adjusted to mutual satisfaction, sent ambassadors on his part to Syracuse to treat with the pretors in person. Here was no longer the same quiet and tranquillity: on news being received that a Carthaginian fleet had arrived at Pachynum, Hippocrates and Epicydes, freed from apprehension, now began, sometimes among the mercenary soldiers, at others among the deserters, to spread insinuations that there was a design of betraying Syracuse to the Romans. And when Appius came and kept his fleet stationed at the mouth of the harbour, with intention to raise the spirits of the other party, this gave the utmost appearance of credibility to their ill-grounded suggestions, insomuch that the populace at first ran down in a tumultuous manner to oppose the landing of his men, if such an attempt should be made.

28. In this troubled state of affairs it was judged necessary to call a general assembly. Here, while opposite parties drew contrary ways, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, one of the leading nobles, named Apollonides, addressed them in a discourse of very salutary tendency at such a juncture; telling them that “no state ever had a nearer prospect either of safety or of ruin. If all would unanimously incline either on the side of the Romans, or to that of the Carthaginians, their prosperity and happiness would equal that of any other nation whatever. If separate parties laboured to counteract each other, the war between the Carthaginians and the Romans was not more furious than would be that which must follow between the Syracusans themselves, when each party should have its own troops, its own arms, its own leaders, within the same walls. The most effectual endeavours ought to be used to bring all to unanimity in opinion. Which of the alliances might be the more profitable was a question of a very inferior nature, and of

much less moment. Nevertheless, on the choice of allies, they ought rather to follow the judgment of Hiero than that of Hieronymus, and give the preference to a friendship, of which they had a happy experience for fifty years, before one which would be at the present new to them, and was formerly found deceitful. Another consideration ought to be allowed some weight in their resolves; that it was in their power to decline a treaty of friendship with the Carthaginians, and yet not to enter, immediately at least, into a war with them; whereas with the Romans they must instantly have either peace or war." The less of party spirit and warmth this speech contained, the greater was its influence on the hearers. To the pretors, and a select number of senators, a military council was joined; and even the commanders of companies, and the prefects of the allies, were ordered to share in their consultations. After the affair had been frequently debated with great heat, they at last resolved, because they could discover no plan on which war could be maintained against the Romans, that a treaty of peace should be formed with them, and that ambassadors should be sent with those of that nation, then in Syracuse, to ratify it.

29. Not many days had passed when deputies from the Leontines arrived, requesting aid for the defence of their country; and this application was considered as coming most seasonably for ridding the city of a disorderly turbulent rabble, and removing their leaders out of the way. The pretor, Hippocrates, was ordered to conduct the deserters thither; and these were accompanied by great numbers of mercenary auxiliaries, so that the whole amounted to four thousand soldiers. This expedition was highly pleasing, both to the persons employed, and to their employers; the former gaining what they had long wished for, an opportunity for disturbing the government; the latter rejoicing at such a nuisance being removed—the sink, as it were, of the city. However, this proved only like giving a sick person present ease, that he might relapse with an aggravation of his disorder: for Hippocrates began at first, by secret excursions, to ravage the nearest parts of the Roman province; but afterward, when Appius had sent a body of troops to protect the territories of the allies, he attacked, with his entire force, a detachment posted in his way, and killed a great number. When Marcellus was informed of these transactions, he instantly despatched ambassadors to Syracuse, to complain of this infraction of the treaty, and to represent that occasions of quarrel would never be wanting, unless Hippocrates and Epicydes were banished, not only from Syracuse, but far from every part of Sicily. Epicydes not choosing, by remaining where he was, either to face the charge of being a

confederate in his absent brother's crime, or to omit contributing his share toward effecting a rupture, went off to his seceding countrymen at Leontini, where finding the inhabitants filled with a sufficient degree of animosity against the Roman people, he undertook to detach them from the Syracusans also: for "the latter," he said, "had stipulated in their treaty with Rome, that every state which had been subject to their kings should for the future be subject to them; and they were not now content with liberty, unless they possessed along with it regal and arbitrary power over other nations. The proper answer, therefore, to be given to any requisition from them was, that the Leontines deemed themselves entitled to freedom no less than themselves, if it were only because their city was the spot where the tyrant fell; that there liberty was first proclaimed, where the troops had abandoned the king's generals, and flocked to Syracuse. Wherefore that article must be expunged from the treaty, or a treaty containing such an article should not be admitted." The multitude were easily persuaded; and when ambassadors from Syracuse complained of their cutting off the Roman detachment, and delivered an order that Hippocrates and Epicydes should depart either to Locri, or to any other place which they chose, provided they retired out of Sicily, the Leontines roughly answered, that "they had not commissioned the Syracusans to make a treaty of peace with the Romans for them, neither were they bound by other people's treaties." This answer the Syracusans laid before the Romans, declaring that "the Leontines were not under their direction; that, therefore, the Romans might make war on that people without any violation of the treaty with Syracuse; and that they would not fail to give their assistance in it, on condition that the others, when reduced to submission, should be again subjected to their government."

30. Marcellus marched against Leontini with his whole force, sending also for Appius, that he might attack it on another quarter; and so great was the ardour of the soldiers on that occasion, inspired by their resentment for the detachment being cut off while a treaty of peace was depending, that, at the first assault, they carried the town. Hippocrates and Epicydes, when they saw the enemy in possession of the walls, and breaking open the gates, retired with a few others into the citadel, from whence they made their escape secretly during the night to Herbesus. The Syracusans having marched from home in a body, eight thousand in number, were met at the river Myla by a messenger, who acquainted them that Leontini was taken, and who mixed several falsehoods with the truth, saying, that both soldiers and townsmen had been put to the sword without distinction; nor did he believe that any one, above

the age of childhood, was left alive; that the city was sacked, and the effects of the wealthy bestowed on the soldiers. On hearing such a shocking account, the army halted; and, every one being highly exasperated, the commanders, who were Sosis and Dinomenes, entered into consultation how they should act. The false report had received a colour of truth sufficient to justify apprehension, from the circumstance of a number of deserters, amounting to two thousand, having been beaten with rods and beheaded. But not one of the Leontines, or the other soldiers, had been hurt, after the capture of the city was completed; and every kind of property had been restored to the owners, except what was destroyed in the first confusion of the assault. The troops, who complained grievously of their fellow-soldiers being treacherously put to death, could not be prevailed on, either to proceed to Leontini, or to wait in their present post for more certain intelligence. On which the pretors, perceiving that they were inclined to mutiny, but that this ferment would not be of long duration if their ringleaders in this foolish conduct were removed, led the army to Megara, whence they themselves, with a small body of horse, proceeded to Herbessus, with hopes that, in consequence of the general consternation, the city might be surrendered into their hands; but being disappointed in their expectations, they next day decamped from Megara, in order to lay siege to it with the whole of their force. Hippocrates and Epicyles now adopted a plan, which, though at first sight not free from danger, yet, every hope being cut off, was the only one which they could pursue; this was to put themselves into the hands of the soldiery, of whom a great part were well acquainted with them, and all were incensed on account of the supposed slaughter of their fellow-soldiers; and they accordingly went out to meet the army on its approach. It happened that the corps which led the van was a battalion of six hundred Cretans, who, in the reign of Hieronymus, had served under their command, and were also under an obligation to Hannibal, having been taken prisoners at the Thrasymenus, with other auxiliaries to the Romans, and dismissed. Hippocrates and Epicyles knowing them by their standards, and the fashion of their armour, advanced to them, holding out olive-branches, and other emblems of suppliants, and besought them to receive them into their ranks, to protect them there, and not to betray them into the hands of the Syracensans, by whom they themselves would soon be delivered up to the Romans to be murdered. The Cretans immediately, with one voice, bade them keep up their courage, for they should share every fortune with them.

31. During this conversation the standards had halted, nor had the cause of the delay yet reached the general. But soon a rumour spread that it was occasioned by Hippocrates and Epicydes, and a murmur ran along the whole line, evidently demonstrating that the troops were pleased at their coming. On this the pretors instantly rode forward at full speed to the van, asking, "What sort of behaviour was this? What did the Cretans mean by such disorderly conduct, maintaining conversation with an enemy, and allowing them to mix in their ranks?" They then ordered Hippocrates to be seized, and put in chains. On which words such a clamour ensued, begun by the Cretans, and continued by the rest, as clearly showed that if they proceeded further in the matter, they would have cause to be apprehensive for their own safety. Alarmed and perplexed by their situation, they ordered the army to march back to Megara, and sent expresses to Syracuse, with accounts of their present state. While the men were disposed to entertain every kind of suspicion, Hippocrates, to increase their apprehensions, employed an artifice: having sent out some of the Cretans to watch the roads, he afterward read publicly a letter composed by himself, but which he pretended had been intercepted. The address was, "The pretors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus." After the usual salutations, it mentioned, that "he had acted rightly and properly in not sparing any in Leontini. That all the mercenary soldiers were to be considered in the same light, and never would Syracuse enjoy tranquillity as long as one of the foreign auxiliaries remained, either in the city, or in their army: they therefore requested him to use his endeavours to reduce under his power those who were encamped with their pretors at Megara, and, by putting them to death, effectuate at length the delivery of Syracuse." As soon as this was read to the soldiers, they ran on all sides to arms with such clamours, that the pretors in a fright rode away during the confusion to Syracuse. But even their flight did not serve to quell the mutiny, and several attacks were made on the Syracusan troops: nor would one of them have found mercy, had not Epicydes and Hippocrates opposed the rage of the multitude, not through compassion or any humane intention, but through fear of forfeiting all hope of ever returning to the city; and from this further consideration, that, while they should find these men, themselves both faithful soldiers and hostages, they would, at the same time, engage also the favour of their relations and friends; in the first place, by so great an obligation conferred, and then, by having such a pledge in their hands. As they knew, too, from experience, how slight and insignificant an impulse is sufficient to set the populace in

motion, they procured a soldier, who had been one of the number besieged in Leontini, and suborned him to carry to Syracuse a story corresponding with the feigned tale told at Myla; and, by avowing himself the author, and asserting as facts, of which he had been an eyewitness, those particulars, of which doubts were harboured, to irritate the passions of the people.

32. This man not only gained credit with the populace, but being brought before the senate, had address enough to influence even their judgment; and several, not apt to be over credulous, openly observed, that "it was happy that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans had been unmasked at Leontini. Had they come into Syracuse, their behaviour would have been the same, or probably more barbarous, as the incitements to avarice were greater there." Wherefore all agreed in opinion that the gates ought to be shut, and guards posted for the defence of the city. But they did not so generally agree in the object either of their fears or their aversions. Among the military of all descriptions, and a great part of the plebeians, their hatred fell on the Roman nation; while the pretors and a few of the nobility, notwithstanding that their judgment had been infected by the false intelligence, yet took more pains to guard against a nearer and more immediate danger; for Hippocrates and Epicydes were already at the Hexapylum; and the relations of the native soldiers then in the army were using many arguments to persuade the people to open the gates, and to let their common country be defended against the Romans. And now one of the gates of the Hexapylum had been opened, and the troops had begun to march in, when the pretors arrived at the spot: they endeavoured, at first, by commands and menaces, then by counsel and advice, to deter the inhabitants from their purpose; and at last, finding all these ineffectual, they descended from their dignity, and had recourse to entreaties, beseeching them not to betray their country to men who were lately instruments of a tyrant, and who now imprisoned the soldiers' minds. But in the heat of the present ferment the ears of the multitude were deaf to all such arguments, and efforts were made to break open the gates on the inside, no less violent than those from without. They were all soon forced, and the whole army received into the Hexapylum. The pretors, with the youth of the city, fled for safety into the Achradina. The mercenaries, deserters, and all the soldiers of the late king, then in Syracuse, augmented the force of the enemy. In consequence, the Achradina was taken at the first assault, and the pretors, except such as could make their escape in the confusion, were all put to death. Night put an end to the shedding

of blood. Next day the slaves were invited to freedom; all the prisoners were discharged from confinement, and the motley rabble, composed of all these different sorts, elected Hippocrates and Epicydes pretors: thus Syracuse, after a short enjoyment of the sunshine of liberty, sunk back into its former state of servitude.

33. As soon as the Romans were informed of these events, they immediately decamped from Leontini, and marched to Syracuse. At the same time it happened that ambassadors sent by Appius, and who were approaching the place in a quinquereme, with difficulty escaped being taken; which, however, was the fate of a quadrireme, ordered to advance some distance before their galley, on its entering the harbour. And now not only the laws of peace, but even those of war, had been all thrown aside, when the Roman army pitched their camp at Olympium, a temple of Jupiter so called, distant a mile and a half from the city. From hence also it was judged proper to send ambassadors, who were prevented entering the city by Hippocrates and Epicydes, with their adherents coming out from the gate to meet them. The Roman whose part it was to speak, said that "the Romans came not with the intention of making war on the Syracusans, but of giving succour and support both to such as, after extricating themselves from the midst of carnage, fled to them for refuge; and also to those who, overpowered by fear, endured a bondage more shocking, not only than exile, but even than death. Nor would the Romans suffer such an abominable massacre of their allies to pass unpunished. Wherefore, if those who had taken refuge with them were allowed to return to their country with safety, and the authors of the massacre were delivered up, and liberty and their laws restored to the Syracusans, there would be no occasion for quarrel. If these requisitions were not complied with, whoever was the cause of the refusal should undergo the severest vengeance which their arms could inflict." To this Epicydes replied, that "if they had been charged with any message to him and his friends, they would have returned an answer. That when the government of Syracuse should be in the hands of those to whom they came, they might then return to Sicily. If they began hostilities, they should learn, on trial, that the siege of Syracuse was a very different kind of business from that of Leontini." So saying, he turned his back on the ambassadors, and shut the gates. The Romans then immediately began to form the siege of Syracuse, both by land and sea: by land, on the side of the Hexapylum; by sea, on that of the Achradina, the wall of which is washed by its waves. Having mastered Leontini by the terror which their assault inspired, and that

at the first attack, they doubted not but they should be able, in some quarter or other, to make their way into a city of such wide extent, and whose defended parts lay at such a distance from each other; they pushed forward therefore to the walls every kind of machine used in sieges.

34. This enterprise, from the spirit and vigour with which it was undertaken, must have met the expected success, had it not been for one single person then in Syracuse: this was Archimedes, a man singularly skilled in the science of astronomy, and a great geometrician, eminently distinguished in the invention and construction of warlike engines, by means of which, with very slight exertions, he baffled the efforts of the enemy, made with immense labour. The wall, which, being drawn along unequal eminences, was in some parts high and difficult of access, in others low and liable to be approached through the level vales, he furnished with machines of all kinds adapted to the nature of each particular place. That of the Achradina, which, as before observed, is washed by the sea, Marcellus attacked from his largest ships; while from the small vessels the archers, slingers, and light-infantry, (whose weapon is of such a kind that it cannot well be thrown back, except by experienced hands,) wounded almost every one defending the works. These requiring room for the discharge of their missiles, kept at a distance; but the other and larger ships, eight in number, were fastened together in pairs, by the removal of one tier of oars; while those on the exterior sides moved them both, as if a single ship. These carried turrets, of several stories in height, with instruments for demolishing the rampart. Against this naval armament Archimedes disposed on the walls engines of various sizes. On the ships which lay at a distance he discharged rocks of immense weight; and those which lay nearer, lighter, and therefore more numerous annoyances. And lastly, he opened in the wall, from top to bottom, a great number of spike-holes, a cubit in diameter, through which, without being seen, or in danger of being hurt, they poured arrows and darts from scorpions. Some ships having come up closer, in order that the weapons from the engines might fly over them, he used an engine called tolleno, composed of a long lever supported at the middle, and fixed in such a manner that one arm of it projected beyond the wall: from the extremity of this hung by a strong chain an iron grapple, which, taking hold of the forepart of the ship, while the other extremity of the lever was weighed down to the ground by a heavy counterpoise of lead, lifted up the prow, and set the vessel on its stern; the grapple then was suddenly disengaged, and the ship was, to the utter consternation of the

seamen, dashed into the water with such force, that even if it had fallen in an erect position, it would have taken in a great deal of water. By these means the assailants were foiled in every attempt by sea: abandoning, therefore, that part of the plan, they bent all their efforts to the pushing forward the operations by land, and with their whole force. But on this side, too, the place was furnished with a similar train of engines, of every description, procured in a course of many years, by the direction and at the expense of Hiero, and through the singular skill of Archimedes. The nature of the ground also was favourable to the defendants, because the rock on which the foundations of the wall were laid, is in most places so steep, that not only bodies thrown from an engine, but such as rolled down by their own weight, fell with great power on the enemy: the same cause rendered the ascent difficult to be climbed, and the footing unsteady. Wherefore a council being held, it was resolved, since every attempt ended in disappointment and disgrace, to desist from further attacks, and only to blockade the place so closely as to cut off all supplies of provisions, either by land or sea.

35. Meanwhile Marcellus marched with about a third part of the forces to recover those cities, which, during the general disturbances, had revolted to the Carthaginians. Helorus and Herbessus he received by voluntary surrender. Having taken Megara by storm, he sacked and demolished it, in order to strike terror into others, particularly the Syracusans. About the same time Himilco, who had for a long time kept his fleet at the promontory of Pachynum, landed at Heraclea, which is also called Minoa, twenty-five thousand infantry, three thousand horses, and twelve elephants; a much greater force than he had before on board his ships at Pachynum. When Syracuse was seized by Hippocrates, he had gone to Carthage, and there, being encouraged by ambassadors from him as chief, and by letters from Hannibal, who affirmed that the time was now come for recovering possession of Sicily with the highest honour; and as his own advice given on the spot had no small degree of influence, he easily procured an order that the greatest force possible of infantry and cavalry should be transported into that island. Immediately on his arrival he reduced Heraclea, and within a few days after Agrigentum; raising at the same time, in all the other states who sided with the Carthaginians, such warm hopes of expelling the Romans from Sicily, that at last even the Syracusans, besieged as they were, assumed new courage. Judging that a part of their forces would be sufficient for defence alone, they divided the business in such a manner, that Epicydes should command the troops so appointed for guarding the

city, and Hippocrates, in conjunction with Himilco, conduct the war against the Roman consul. The latter accordingly, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse, having passed by night through some intervals between the Roman posts, began to pitch his camp near the city Acrillæ: while they were raising their fortifications Marcellus came on them; for he was now returning from Agrigentum, to which place he had in vain hastened by quick marches, in hope of reaching it before the enemy, but he found it already in their possession; and expected nothing less at that time than to meet a Syracusan army in his way. However, through fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, for whom he was by no means a match with the force which he then had, he was marching with all possible caution, and with his troops prepared for every occurrence.

36. This precaution adopted against the Carthaginians happened to prove useful in respect of the Syracusans. Finding them scattered, separately employed in forming their camp, and mostly unarmed, he surrounded and cut off the whole of their infantry; the cavalry, after a slight opposition, fled with Hippocrates to Acræ. This stroke having effectually checked the design of those states which were disposed to revolt from the Romans, Marcellus returned to Syracuse; and after a few days, Himilco, being joined by Hippocrates, came and encamped at the river Anapus, about eight miles distant. About the same time fifty-five Carthaginian ships of battle, commanded by Bomilcar as admiral, put into the great harbour at Syracuse, and a Roman fleet of thirty quinqueremes landed the first legion at Panormus: it seemed, indeed, as if the theatre of war was removed hither from Italy, so intent were both nations on the affairs of Sicily. Himilco expected that the Roman legion landed at Panormus would fall a prey to him on its way to Syracuse; but he missed it by taking the road which led through the inland parts of the country, while the legion, keeping close to the sea-coast, and being attended by the fleet, effected a junction with Appius Claudius, who, with a part of his forces, came as far as Pachynum to meet it. Nor did the Carthaginians delay longer at Syracuse. On the one hand, Bomilcar was diffident of his own strength at sea, as the Romans had a fleet of at least double his number; and, at the same time, as he perceived that the only effect of his forces remaining there, where they could do no service, would be, the aggravating the distress of his allies in the article of provisions, he sailed out into the main and passed over to Africa. On the other hand, Himilco had in vain followed Marcellus to Syracuse, in hopes of finding an opportunity of engaging him before he should join the larger division of his

army; but being disappointed in this, and seeing likewise that the enemy's post at Syracuse was secured from every attempt, both by the fortifications and the number of their forces, he did not choose to waste time to no purpose in sitting there as a spectator of the siege carried on against his allies, and therefore decamped and marched away his army, with intention to carry it wherever a prospect of a revolt from the Romans should invite him, that he might invigorate by his presence the resolution of those who favoured his interest. And first, through the treachery of the inhabitants, who betrayed the Roman garrison, he got possession of Murgantia, where the Romans had large magazines of corn and every kind of provisions.

37. By this revolt other states were encouraged to imitate the example; and the Roman garrisons were either driven out of the fortresses or betrayed and overpowered. Enna, standing on a lofty eminence, which was steep and craggy on every side, was not only impregnable by reason of its situation, but had moreover a strong force in its citadel, with a governor who could not be easily overreached by treachery. This was Lucius Pinarius, a man of spirit and activity, who relied more on his own precaution to render every scheme of perfidy impracticable than on the fidelity of the Sicilians; and his solicitude to be prepared for every emergency was now increased by the intelligence he had received of so many cities revolting, or being betrayed, and the garrisons put to death. Wherefore every thing was kept in a state of readiness, with guards and watches constantly on duty, as well by night as by day; nor did the soldier ever quit his arms or his post. When the leading men in Enna, who had already bargained with Himilco for the betraying of the garrison, understood that the Roman commander had left no room for the practice of any deception, they resolved to act openly, and represented to him that the city and the citadel ought to be under their care, since they had been connected with "the Romans as free men in alliance, not as slaves in custody." They therefore required that the keys of the gates should be returned to them; observing, that "on good allies honour was the strongest tie, and that then only would the senate and people of Rome think them deserving of thanks when they should continue in friendship out of their own free will, not through compulsion." To this the Roman answered, that "he was placed there by his general, and from him had received the keys of the gates and the custody of the citadel, which he held not at his own disposal, or that of the inhabitants of Enna, but at his who had committed them to his charge; that to relinquish a man's post in a garrison was, among the Ro-

mans, a capital crime, and that parents had confirmed that law even by the death of their own children; that the consul Marcellus was not far distant: let them send ambassadors to him, who had the right and authority to determine." They declared positively that they would not send, and gave him notice that, since words were of no avail, they would seek some other means of asserting their liberty. Pinarius then desired, "that if they did not choose to take the trouble of sending to the consul, they would at least allow him to meet the people in assembly, that it might be known whether these were the denunciations of a party only, or of the whole state." which being agreed to, an assembly was proclaimed for the following day.

38. After this conversation, he went back immediately into the citadel, and calling the troops together, spoke thus: "Soldiers, you must have heard in what manner the Roman garrisons have, of late, been betrayed and cut off by the Sicilians. The same treachery you have escaped, principally through the kindness of the gods, and next through your own resolution, in keeping continual guard and watch under arms, without intermission by day or by night. I wish it were in our power to pass the rest of our time without enduring or offering cruel treatment. But this caution, which we have hitherto used, guards only against their secret machinations; which not having succeeded to their wish, they now openly and plainly demand the keys of the gates. The moment these are delivered to them, Enna will be made over to the Carthaginians, and we shall be massacred here in a more shocking manner than were those of Murgantia. This one night's time I have with difficulty procured for consultation, that I might apprise you of the imminent danger to which you are exposed. At sunrise they intend to hold an assembly for the purpose of criminating me, and incensing the populace against you: before to-morrow night, therefore, Enna will be deluged either with your blood or with that of its inhabitants. If they anticipate your measures, you will have no resource; if you anticipate theirs, you will have no danger: whoever first draws the sword, his will be the victory. Do you therefore, in arms; and with all your attention awake, wait for the signal. I will be in the assembly, and, by talking and disputing, will prolong the time until every thing shall be ready. As soon as I give the signal with my gown, then let me see that you raise a shout on every quarter, attack the multitude, and mow down all with the sword: take care that no one be left alive from whom either force or fraud can be feared. O! Mother Ceres and Proserpine, and you other gods, whether of the superior or inferior regions, who

patronize this city and these consecrated lakes and groves, so prosper us, I beseech you, with your favour and assistance, as we undertake such an enterprise with a view of averting, not of inflicting injury. I would use more words in exhorting you, soldiers, if you were to have a contest with men in arms: that unarmed and unguarded crowd you will kill until you shall be satisfied with killing: besides, the consul's camp is at hand, so that nothing can be feared from Himilco and the Carthaginians."

39. Being dismissed with this exhortation, they went to take refreshment. Next day they posted themselves in different places to block up the streets, and shut the passes against the townsmen going out; the greatest part of them on and round the theatre, as they had been before accustomed to stand spectators of the assemblies. The Roman commander was conducted by the magistrates into the presence of the people, where he represented that the power and authority of determining the business in question lay in the consul, not in him; urging mostly the same arguments which he had used the day before: on which a few at first, then greater numbers, at last all, with one voice, insisted on his delivering the keys; and when he hesitated and demurred, began to threaten him furiously, showing evidently that they would no longer refrain from the utmost violence. The governor then gave the concerted signal with his gown. The soldiers were prepared, having a long time expected it with earnest attention; and now, while some of them with loud shouts ran down from the higher places against the rear of the assembly, others in close array, blocked up the passages from the theatre. Thus, pent up in the inclosure, the inhabitants of Enna were put to the sword. Yet did they perish not only by the weapons of their enemy, but by their own hasty flight; for many tumbled over the others, and the whole falling on the wounded, the living on the dead, were all promiscuously heaped together. From thence the soldiers spread themselves over the city, and, as if it had been taken by storm, filled every part of it with terror and carnage; their rage venting itself with no less fury on the unarmed crowd than if their passions had been exasperated by an equality of danger in the heat of battle. Thus, by an act either wholly unjustifiable, or excusable only on the ground of necessity, the possession of Enna was retained. Marcellus showed no disapprobation of the deed; on the contrary, he granted the plunder of that place to the soldiers, thinking that the Sicilians, deterred by fear of like treatment, would desist from the practice of betraying the Roman fortresses. The history of the sad catastrophe of this city, which stood in the middle of Sicily, and was so conspicuous, both on account of the ex-

traordinary natural strength of its situation, as also on account of every part of it being rendered sacred by the monuments of the abduction of Proserpine of old, reached every part of the island almost in one day. People considered that horrid carnage as a violation of the mansions of the gods, as well as of those of men; and now even those who had hesitated until this time, openly declared in favour of the Carthaginians. Hippocrates then retired to Murgantia, and Himilco to Agrigentum; for they had, on an invitation from the treacherous inhabitants, brought their armies to Enna to no purpose. Marcellus returned into the territory of Leonitini, where, having stored his camp with magazines of corn and other provisions, and left a small body of troops to defend it, he went to carry on the siege of Syracuse. Appius Claudius having obtained his leave to go to Rome to canvass for the consulship, he appointed in his room Titus Quintus Crispinus to the command of the fleet and of the old camp. He fortified a camp for himself, in which he erected huts for the winter, at a place called Leon, five miles distant from the Hexapylum. These were the transactions in Sicily previous to the commencement of winter.

40. During that summer the war with king Philip, which had been apprehended for some time, broke out into action. Deputies came from Oricum to the propretor Marcus Valerius, who commanded the fleet at Brundisium and on the neighbouring coasts of Calabria, informing him that Philip had first attempted Apollonia, sailing up the river with a hundred and twenty barks of two banks of oars; and, not succeeding there as speedily as he expected, had afterward marched his army secretly by night to Oricum; which city, being situated in a plain, and being but weakly defended, either by fortifications or by men and arms, was overpowered at the first assault. To this information they joined intreaties that he would bring them succour, and repel the attacks of that avowed enemy to the Romans from the maritime cities, which were assailed for no other reason than because they lay contiguous to Italy. Marcus Valerius, leaving a lieutenant-general, Titus Valerius, to maintain his present post, and putting on board the ships of burden a number of soldiers, for whom there was not room in the ships of war, set sail with his fleet, fully equipped and prepared, and arrived on the second day at Oricum; and without much difficulty retook that city, which had for its defence but a weak garrison, left by Philip at his departure. Hither came deputies from the Apollonians, with information that they were besieged because they refused to take part against the Romans, and that they were unable longer to withstand the force of the Macedonians, unless, a Roman garrison were

sent to their aid. Valerius promised to comply with their wishes, and sent two thousand chosen men in ships of war to the mouth of the river, under the command of Quintus Nævius Crista, prefect of the allies, a man of an enterprising spirit, and experienced in service. He, as soon as his men were landed, sent back the ships to join the rest of the fleet at Oricum, whence he came; and leading his troops at a distance from the river, through a road where he was least likely to meet any of the king's party, got into town by night, without being discovered by them. During the following day all remained quiet, while the prefect reviewed the forces of the Apollonians, their arms, and the defences of the city. On examining all those matters, he found sufficient ground for confidence; at the same time learning from scouts that a great degree of negligence and inattention prevailed among the enemy. In consequence of this intelligence, he marched out of the city in the dead of the night, without any noise; and on entering their camp found it so neglected and exposed, that a thousand of his men had gotten within the rampart, as we are well assured, before any one perceived them; and, had they refrained from killing the soldiers, might have reached the pavilion of the king. The destroying of those who were nearest to the gate roused the others from sleep; and immediately such terror and dismay took possession of all, that not one of them offered to take arms or to attempt expelling the assailants; nay, instead of that, even the king himself fled in the same condition as he had started out of bed; half naked in a manner, and in a dress which would scarcely be decent for a private soldier, much less a monarch, he effected his escape to his ships in the river. Thither also the rest of the multitude directed their precipitate flight. Somewhat less than three thousand men were either killed or taken, but the number of prisoners considerably exceeded that of the killed. The camp was then sacked; and the Apollonians carried into their city, for the defence of their walls on any future occasion, the catapultas, balistas, and other engines, which had been provided for the purpose of demolishing them; all the rest of the booty found in the camp was consigned to the Romans. As soon as the news of this event reached Oricum, Marcus Valerius instantly drew his fleet to the mouth of the river, lest the king should attempt to escape by water. Philip, therefore, despairing of being able to cope with his adversaries, either by land or sea, drew up some of his ships into dock, burned the rest, and with his troops, mostly unarmed and despoiled of their baggage, returned by land into Macedonia. Marcus Valerius, with the Roman fleet, wintered at Oricum.

41. In Spain the contending parties met with various suc-

cess during this campaign : for, before the Romans passed the river Iberus, Mago and Hasdrubal defeated a very numerous army of Spaniards, and all Farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans had not Publius Cornelius, by a rapid march, arrived in time to confirm the wavering resolutions of his allies. The Romans encamped first at a place called the High Fort, remarkable for the death of the great Hamilcar. The fortress was strong, and they had already provided a store of corn. Nevertheless, because all the country round was full of the enemy's troops, and as the Roman army on its march had been harassed by their cavalry, without being able to take revenge, and had lost two thousand men, who either loitered behind or straggled through the country, they removed thence to the neighbourhood of a friendly people, and fortified a camp at the mount of Victory. Hither came Cneius Scipio with all his forces ; while on the other side, Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, with a complete army, joined the other two Carthaginian generals, and their whole combined forces sat down opposite to the Roman with a river between them. Publius Scipio, going out privately with some light-armed troops to take a view of the adjacent country, passed not unobserved by the enemy, who would have cut him off in an open plain, had he not seized an eminence which was nigh. Even there he was closely invested ; but his brother coming up, relieved him from that dangerous situation. Castulo, a strong city, reckoned among the most remarkable in Spain, and so closely connected with the Carthaginians, that Hannibal had married a native of it, revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians laid siege to Illiturgi, because it was held by a Roman garrison, and they had reason to expect that it would soon fall into their hands, chiefly in consequence of a scarcity of provisions. Cneius Scipio, with a legion lightly equipped, marched to the relief of the allies and the garrison, and forced his way into the city, between the two camps of the enemy, with great slaughter of their men. On the day following he made a sally, and fought with the same success. In the two battles he killed above twelve thousand men, and took more than ten thousand, with thirty-six military standards : in consequence of which losses the Carthaginians raised the siege. They then sat down before the city of Bigerra, which also was in alliance with the Romans, but on the approach of Cneius Scipio raised the siege without a battle.

42. The Carthaginians then removed their camp to Munda, whither the Romans quickly followed them. Here a general engagement took place, which lasted near four hours : the Romans had decidedly the advantage : but, while they

were pursuing the victory with the utmost ardour, the signal of retreat was given, in consequence of Cneius Scipio's thigh being pierced through with a javelin, the soldiers round him being seized with a panic, in the supposition that the wound was mortal. There was no doubt but that, if they had not been thus stopped, they would on that day have taken the enemy's camp. Not only their soldiers, but elephants also, had already been driven up to the rampart, and on the top of it thirty-nine elephants had been killed with spears. Twelve thousand men are said to have fallen in this battle, and near three thousand to have been taken, with fifty-seven military ensigns. From thence the Carthaginians retreated to the city of Aurinæ, and the Romans, not to allow them time to recover from their defeat, followed them closely. Here Scipio, though carried into the field in a litter, engaged them again; and obtained a decided victory; though fewer of the enemy by half were slain in this battle than in the former; because, after their loss on that occasion, they could only bring a smaller number into the field. But as they are a race fitted by nature for the reviving of wars and the recruiting of armies, they soon, through the diligence of Mago, who was sent by his brother to levy soldiers, filled up the complement of their troops, and resumed courage to risk afresh the issue of a battle. Though their battalions were now composed mostly of foreign soldiers, yet fighting on a side which had suffered so many discomfitures within a few days, they showed the same spirit as before, and the same consequence ensued. More than eight thousand men were slain, not many short of a thousand taken prisoners, together with fifty-eight military standards. The greater part of the spoils had belonged to the Gauls, among which were golden chains and bracelets in great numbers; there were also two remarkable chieftains of the Gauls killed in that battle, Moenicaptus and Civismarus: eight elephants were taken, and three killed. During this current of success in Spain, the Romans began to feel ashamed of having suffered the town of Saguntum, the original object of dispute, to continue five years in the possession of the enemy. Wherefore, dislodging the Carthaginian garrison, they retook possession of the town, and restored it to such of the inhabitants as had survived the violence of the conflict. As to the Turdetanians, who had been the instigators of the war between the Carthaginians and the people, they totally subdued them, sold them as slaves, and rased their city to the ground. Such were the occurrences in Spain during the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius.

43. At Rome, no sooner had the new plebian tribunes entered into office than one of them, Lucius Metellus, sum-

moned the censors, Publius Furius and Marcus Ætilius, to trial before the people. In the preceding year, when he was questor, they had degraded him from the equestrian rank and from his tribe, and had disfranchised him on account of his having formed a conspiracy at Cannæ to abandon Italy: but they were supported by the other nine tribunes, who protested against their being brought to trial, and were consequently discharged. The death of Publius Furius prevented their closing the lustrum; and Marcus Ætilius abdicated his office. The election of consuls was held by the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus, and two were chosen who were both absent at the time, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the present consul's son, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a second time. The pretors appointed were Marcus Atilius, and two who were then curule ediles, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and lastly, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. It is recorded that stage plays were now, for the first time, exhibited four days successively, by direction of the curule ediles. This Tuditanus, now edile, was the person who at Cannæ, while the rest were stupified by fear, in consequence of such a dreadful disaster, made his way through the middle of the enemy.

44. As soon as the elections were finished [A. U. C. 539. B. C. 213] the consuls elect were called home to Rome, by the advice of the present consul Quintus Fabius, and assumed the administration. They then called a meeting of the senate to determine concerning their own provinces and those of the pretors; the armies to be employed, and the commanders to whom each was to be allotted. These were distributed in the following manner: to the consuls was assigned the province of making head against Hannibal; and of the armies, the one which Sempronius himself had already under his command, and another commanded by the late consul Fabius. These consisted of two legions each. Marcus Æmilius, the pretor, to whose lot the foreign jurisdiction had fallen, (his share in the administration of justice being consigned to his colleague,) Marcus Atilius, city pretor, was to hold the province of Luceria and the two legions which Quintus Fabius, the present consul, had commanded as pretor; to Publius Sempronius fell the province of Ariminum; to Cneius Fulvius, Suessula, with two legions likewise to each; Fulvius to take with him the city legions; Tuditanus to receive his from Marcus Pomponius. The following commanders and provinces were continued: to Marcus Claudius, Sicily, so far as the limits of Hiero's dominions had extended; to Lentulus, propretor, the old Roman province in that island; to Titus Otacilius, the fleet. No additions were made to their armies. Greece and Mac-

donia were allotted to Marcus Valerius, with the legion and fleet which he had there; to Quintus Mucius, Sardinia, with his old army, which consisted of two legions, and to Caius Terentius, Picenum, with the one legion at present under his command. It was ordered that, besides those mentioned, two city legions should be levied, and twenty thousand troops of the allies. These were the leaders, these the forces provided for the defence of the Roman empire, against a multitude of enemies, either declared or suspected. The consuls, after raising the two city legions, and filling up the numbers of the others, before they quitted Rome, expiated several prodigies, which had been reported. A wall and a gate had been struck by lightning, and also the temple of Jupiter at Aricia. Besides which several deceptions of the eyes and ears were credited as facts; that the figures of ships of war had appeared in the river at Tarracina, where no such ships were; that in the temple of Jupiter, at Vicilinum, in the district of Compsa, a clashing of arms was heard; and that the river at Amiternum flowed in streams of blood. When the expiation of these was performed, according to the direction of the pontiffs, the consuls set out, Sempronius to Lucania, Fabius to Apulia. The father of the latter coming into the camp of Suessula, as lieutenant-general under his son, the son went out to meet him, and the lictors, out of reverence to his dignity, went on in silence, until the old man rode past eleven of the fasces, when the consul ordering his next lictor to take care, he called to him to dismount, and the father then, at length, alighting, said, "I had a mind, my son, to try whether you were properly sensible of being consul."

45. Into this camp Darius Altinius of Arpi came privately by night with three slaves, promising that if he were properly rewarded, he would betray Arpi to them. Fabius held a council to consider of the matter, when some were of opinion that he ought to be scourged and put to death as a deserter, being a common foe to both parties, ever ready to change sides; who, after the misfortune at Cannæ, as if faith ought to follow the changes of fortune, had gone over to the Carthaginians, and drawn Arpi into a revolt; and now, when the Roman affairs were, contrary to his hopes and wishes, recovering from that disaster, it must appear doubly base to offer to serve, by an act of treachery, the party on whom he had practised treachery before. Such a wretch, who always appeared to act on one side, while his wishes were on the other, such a perfidious ally and fickle enemy, ought to be made a third lesson to deserters along with the Falerian and Pyrrhus' traitors. On the other hand, Fabius, the consul's father, said, that "people did not attend

to the state of the times, but, in the very heat of war, as in a time of tranquillity, pronounced their decisions on every case without any allowance for circumstances. Thus, at a time when they should rather contrive and labour to prevent, if possible, any of the allies revolting from the Roman cause, or become wavering in their inclinations, they were of opinion that a person who repented and showed an inclination to return to his former connexions, ought to be punished for an example. But if those who had once forsaken the part of the Romans were at no time allowed to return to it, who could doubt but that their nation would be deserted by its allies, and that they would shortly see every state in Italy combined under Carthaginian treaties? Nevertheless, he was not disposed to think that any confidence should be reposed in Altinius: but he would strike out a middle way of proceeding, and recommend that at present he should not be treated either as an enemy or an ally, but should, during the continuance of the war, be kept in custody at a small distance from the camp, in some city whose fidelity could be relied on; and that, on the event of peace, it should be considered whether his former defection pleaded stronger for punishment, or his present return for pardon." This advice of Fabius was adopted. Altinius was bound in chains, and together with his attendants, delivered into custody; and a large quantity of gold which he had brought with him was ordered to be kept for his use. He was sent to Cales, where he was allowed to go out by day attended by guards, who confined and watched him by night. When he was missed at his house in Arpi, search was made for him at first, then the report of what had happened spreading through the city, occasioned a tumult among the citizens, as if they had lost their leader; so that, dreading an alteration of their present system, they despatched instantly to Hannibal an account of the affair. This was not at all displeasing to the Carthaginian, because he had long harboured suspicions of him, knowing the duplicity of his character; and besides, he had now gained an excuse for seizing and confiscating his great property. However, in order to make people believe that he was actuated rather by anger than rapaciousness, he exhibited a scene of uncommon barbarity; for having ordered his wife and children to be brought into the camp, he made a strict inquiry concerning the flight of Altinius, and likewise concerning the quantities of gold and silver which he had left at home; and, when he had got sufficient information of every particular, he burned them alive.

46. Fabius set out from Suessula, intending to open the campaign with the siege of Arpi; and having pitched his camp about half a mile from the place, and taken a near view

of the situation and fortifications of the town, he resolved to make his principal attack on a quarter where the works were the strongest, and the guard the most negligently kept. After providing every thing requisite for an assault, he selected out of the whole army the ablest centurions, and placed over them tribunes of known bravery, giving them six hundred soldiers, which number was deemed sufficient, with orders that, on the sounding of the signal of the fourth watch, they should advance with scaling ladders to the chosen spot. The gate on that side was low and narrow, the corresponding street being little frequented, as leading through a deserted part of the town. He ordered them, after first scaling the wall, to proceed to this gate, and break down the bars on the inside; then, as soon as they had got possession of that quarter of the city, to give the signal with a cornet, that the rest of the forces might join them, saying that he would have every thing in readiness. His orders were executed with vigour and spirit; while a circumstance, which seemed likely to obstruct the undertaking, proved the most favourable for concealing their operations. A heavy rain at midnight obliged the guards and watches in the town to slip away from their posts, and ran for shelter into the houses, while the loudness of the storm, which was most violent at the beginning, prevented their hearing the noise made by those who were breaking the postern, and the sound, becoming afterwards more soft and regular, lulled most of the men to sleep. As soon as the assailants had secured possession of the gate, they placed the cornet players in the street, at equal distances, and ordered them to sound, as a summons to the consul; who, finding this part of the plan executed, immediately ordered his troops to march, and, a little before day, entered the city through the broken gate.

47. At length the enemy were roused, the rain too abating with the approach of day. There was in the city a garrison of Hannibal's troops, amounting to five thousand effective men, and the armed people of Arpi themselves were three thousand more. These latter, the Carthaginians, to guard against any treachery on their rear, opposed in front to the enemy. The fight was maintained for some time in the dark, and in narrow streets, the Romans having seized not only all the passes, but the houses likewise next to the gate, lest they might be struck or wounded by any thing thrown down from them. Some of the Arpians and Romans recognising each other, began to enter into conversation; the latter asking what had been the demerit of their countrymen, or what the merit of the Carthaginians, that could induce Italians to wage war in their favour,—in favour of foreigners and barbarians, in fine, against their ancient allies, and

zing to reduce Italy to a state of vassalage, and to make tributary province to Africa? The Arpians, in excuse themselves, declared that, without knowing any thing of matter, they had been sold to the Carthaginians by those who had the management of their affairs, and that they were in a state of subjection and oppression by a faction of a . . . In consequence of this declaration, greater numbers both sides joined in the conversation. At last the pretor Arpi was brought by his countrymen to the consul, and equal assurances being given, in the midst of the standards and troops, the Arpians on a sudden turned their arms against the Carthaginians in favour of the Romans. A body of Spaniards also, nearly a thousand in number, came over to the consul, without stipulating any other condition than that the Carthaginian garrison should be allowed to depart without hurt; which article was punctually fulfilled: the gates were thrown open: they were dismissed in safety, and joined Hannibal at Salapia. Thus was Arpi restored to the Romans, without any other loss than that of the life of one man, long since branded with treason, and lately with desertion. To the Spaniards a double allowance of provisions was ordered; and, on very many occasions afterward, the government found them brave and faithful soldiers. While the consul was in Apulia, and the other in Lucania, a hundred and twelve Campanian horsemen, all men of noble birth, having, under pretence of ravaging the enemy's country, obtained leave from the magistrates to go out of Apulia, came to the Roman camp above Suessula, told the advance guard who they were, and that they wished to speak with the pretor. Cneius Fulvius, who commanded there, receiving their message, ordered ten of their number, armed, to be conducted into his presence; and having heard their demands, which amounted to no more than that, Capua being recovered, their property might be restored them, he received them all into protection. At the same time the other pretor, Sempronius Tuditanus, reduced by the town of Aternum, took above seven thousand prisoners, and a considerable quantity of brass and silver. 1. At Rome a dreadful fire raged during two nights and a day: every thing between the Salinæ and the Carmentalis was levelled to the ground, as were the Æquimælium and the Jugurian street. The fire, catching the temples of Fortune, of Mother Matuta, and of Hope, on the outside of the gate, and spreading to a vast extent, consumed a great number of buildings, both religious and private. 8. During this year the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, returning from the prosperous course of affairs in Spain, and from their having recovered many old, and acquired many new allies,

were encouraged to extend their views to Africa itself. Syphax, at this time king of a part of Numidia, had suddenly commenced a war with the Carthaginians: to him they sent three centurions as ambassadors, to form a treaty of friendship and alliance, and to assure him that, if he continued to prosecute the war against the Carthaginians, the Roman senate and people would be thankful for the service, and would use their best endeavours to repay the kindness afterward to his entire satisfaction. This embassy was very acceptable to the barbarian: he entered into conversation with the ambassadors on the art of war; and when he heard the discourses of those experienced veterans, and compared his own practice with such a regular system of discipline, he became sensible of his ignorance in many particulars. Then he requested, as the first instance of that favour which he might expect from good and faithful allies, that "two of them might carry back to their commanders the result of their embassy, and the other remain with him as his instructor in military knowledge; adding, that the people of Numidia were quite unacquainted with the method of fighting on foot, and were useful only on horseback: that this was the mode practised by their ancestors since their first existence as a nation, and to the same had the present generation been accustomed since their childhood: that he had to deal with an enemy whose chief confidence lay in the power of their infantry; and that, therefore, if he expected to put himself on an equality with them in point of firm strength, he must procure a body of foot-soldiers to oppose theirs. That his dominions abounded with numbers of men fit for the purpose, but that he was totally ignorant of the proper method of arming, training, and marshalling them; and they were in every respect awkward and unmanageable, like a mere mob collected by chance." The ambassadors answered, that they would at the present comply with his desire, provided he gave them an assurance that he would send the person back, in case their commanders should disapprove of what they had done. The name of him who remained with the king was Quintus Statorius. With the two centurions the Numidian sent into Spain ambassadors on his part, to receive the ratification of the convention from the Roman generals; and he charged them, after they should have executed this commission, to persuade the Numidians, who acted as auxiliaries in the Carthaginian garrisons, to come over to the other side. Statorius, finding abundant force of young men, raised an army of infantry for the king, and forming them into distinct bodies, according to the Roman method, taught them, in taking their posts and performing their several evolutions, to follow their standards and keep their ranks; and

he so inured them to the practice of military works, and other duties of soldiers, that in a short time the king placed not more confidence in his cavalry than in his infantry, and, even in a pitched battle, on a level plain, he defeated an army of Carthaginians. The arrival of the king's ambassadors was productive of great advantages to the Romans in Spain, for, as soon as it was known, the Numidians began to come over in great numbers from the enemy. In this manner did friendship commence between the Romans and Syphax. Of which transaction, as soon as the Carthaginians got notice, they instantly despatched ambassadors to Gala, who reigned in the other part of Numidia, over the nation called Massylians.

49. Gala had a son named Masinissa, at that time only seventeen years old, but endowed with such talents as, even then, afforded strong presumption that he would leave the kingdom more extensive and opulent than when he received it. The ambassadors represented that "since Syphax had united himself with the Romans, for the purpose of being enabled, by their assistance, to exert greater force against the other kings and natives of Africa, it would be the interest of Gala to enter into alliance as soon as possible with the Carthaginians, on the other side; that, before Syphax passed over into Spain, or the Romans into Africa, it would be very practicable to overpower the former, who had as yet gained no advantage from his connexion with Rome, except the name of it." Gala was easily persuaded to take part in the war, especially as his son earnestly solicited the command of the armies; and, in conjunction with the legions of the Carthaginians, he totally defeated Syphax in a great battle, in which, as we are told, thirty thousand men were slain. Syphax fled from the field with a few horsemen, and took refuge among the Maurusian Numidians, who inhabit the remotest coast of the ocean, opposite to Gades. Here the barbarians, attracted by his fame, flocked to him from all sides, in such numbers, that he was soon at the head of a very great army. In order to prevent his carrying this force into Spain, from which he was separated only by a narrow straight, Masinissa, with his victorious troops, came up with him; and there, by his own strength, without any aid from the Carthaginians, he maintained the war against Syphax with great glory. In Spain nothing memorable was performed, except that the Roman generals brought over to their side the youth of Celtiberia, granting them the same pay which they had stipulated with the Carthaginians, and sending above three hundred Spaniards of the highest distinction into Italy to endeavour to draw off their countrymen who served as auxiliaries in Hannibal's army. The only incident which

occurred in Spain remarkable enough to deserve being recorded, was, that the Celtiberians in this year were the first mercenary troops ever entertained in the Roman armies.

BOOK XXV.

CHAP. 1. HANNIBAL passed the summer during which these events took place in Africa and Spain, in the territory of Tarentum, in continual expectation of having that city betrayed into his hands. Meanwhile, some inconsiderable towns of that district, with others belonging to the Salentines, revolted to him. At the same time, of the twelve Bruttian states which had a year or two before gone over to the Carthaginians, the Consentians and Thurians put themselves again under the protection of the Roman people; and more of them would have done the same, had not Lucius Pomponius Veientanus, prefect of the allies, who in consequence of several predatory expeditions in the territory of Bruttium, had acquired an appearance of a regular commander, assembled a tumultuary army, and fought a battle with Hanno. A vast number of his men were killed or taken on the occasion, but they were only an undisciplined rabble of peasants and slaves; and the least part of the loss was the prefect himself being taken among the rest; for besides his inconsiderate rashness in bringing on this engagement, having been formerly a farmer of the revenue, he had by every iniquitous practice proved faithless and detrimental, both to the state and to the companies concerned in that business. The consul Sempronius had many slight skirmishes in Lucania, none worthy of mention, but reducing several inconsiderable towns. In proportion as the war was protracted to a greater length, and successes and disappointments produced various alterations, not only in the situations, but in the sentiments of men, superstitious observances, and these mostly introduced from abroad, gained such ground among the people in general, that it seemed as if either mankind or the deities had undergone a sudden change. And now the accustomed rights were disused, not only in private and within doors, but even in the public streets, the forum, and the capitol. These were frequented by crowds of women sacrificing, and offering prayers to their gods in modes hitherto unknown at Rome. A low sort of sacrificers and soothsayers had enslaved the people's understandings, and the number of these was in-

creased in consequence of the great influx of the peasantry from the country, who, as their lands lay long untilled by reason of the continuance of the war, and the inroads of the enemy, were driven into the city through want and fear. These found an easy means of profit, in working on the deluded minds of the multitude, which practice they carried on as if it were a lawful occupation. At first every well-judging person expressed indignation at such proceedings; afterwards the matter came to be noticed by the senators, and attracted public censure from the government. The ediles and the judges of criminal causes* were sharply rebuked by the senate for not having prevented these practices, although when they had attempted to disperse from the forum the crowd assembled on such an occasion, and to remove the implements of their rites, they were in imminent danger of personal injury. The evil now appearing too powerful to be checked by the efforts of the inferior magistrates, the senate gave a charge to Marcus Atilius, pretor of the city, to free the public from those superstitious nuisances. For this purpose he read their decree in a general assembly; and at the same time gave notice that "whoever had any books of divination and forms of prayer used on such occasions, or the art of sacrificing in writing, should bring all such books and writings to him before the calends of April, and that no person should in any place, either public or consecrated, perform sacrifice in any new or foreign mode."

2. Several of the priests established by law, died this year, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, chief pontiff, Caius Papirius Maso, son of Caius, a pontiff, Publius Furius Philus, an augur, and Caius Papirius Maso, son of Furius, a decemvir for the direction of religious rites. In the room of Lentulus was substituted in the college of pontiffs Marcus Cornelius Cethegus; in that of Papirius, Cneius Servilius Cæpio: Lucius Quintus Flaminius was created augur, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus decemvir for the direction of religious rites. The time of the consular election now drew nigh; but as it was not judged expedient to call away the consuls from the war, which they were prosecuting with vigour, Tiberius Sempromnius, consul, nominated Caius Claudius Cætho dictator, to hold the elections, and he appointed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus his master of the horse. The dictator, on the first day whereon the assembly could meet, elected consuls Quintus Fulvius Flaccus the master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had held the government of Sicily, as pretor.

* These were three. They were elected by the people to judge in criminal causes, superintend the prisons, and the execution of the condemned.

Then were elected, pretors, Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus, Publius Cornelius Sulla. As soon as the elections were finished, the dictator resigned his office. This year, with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, was curule edile. The plebeian tribunes opposed the pretensions of the latter to the edileship, and insisted that he ought not to be admitted as a candidate, because he was not of the age required by law,* on which he answered, "If it is the will of all the citizens to make me edile, I am old enough:" on this the people hastened into their respective tribes to give their votes in his favour, and with such a degree of zeal, that the tribunes at once relinquished their design. The compliments paid to the public by those ediles were these: the Roman games were exhibited with magnificence, considering the circumstances of the times, and repeated during one day, with a donation of a gallon of oil to each street. The plebeian ediles, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus, brought before the people a charge of incontinency against a considerable number of matrons, and several who were convicted were driven into exile. The plebeian games were repeated during two days; and on occasion of these games a banquet in honour of Jupiter was celebrated.

3. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus a third time, and Appius Claudius, entered on the administration of the consulship. [A. U. C. 540. B. C. 212.] The provinces were assigned to the pretors by lot; the administration of justice, both to citizens and foreigners, formerly divided between two, now fell to Publius Cornelius Sulla; Apulia was allotted to Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Snessula to Caius Claudius Nero, and Etruria to Marcus Junius Silanus. It was decreed that the consuls should conduct the war against Hannibal, and that each should receive two legions, one from Quintus Fabius, consul of the former year, the other from Fulvius Centumalus: that of the pretors, Fulvius Flaccus should command those legions which were at Luceria, under the pretor Æmilius, and Claudius Nero those which were in Picenum under Caius Terentius, and that they themselves should raise recruits to fill up the numbers of their respective armies. To Marcus Junius, for the service in Etruria, were given the two city legions of the preceding year. Ti-

* No person could obtain a curule office until he had served ten campaigns; and as the military age commenced at seventeen, a man must be at least twenty-seven before he was qualified to sue for the questorship. It seems that by this law the requisite ages were settled thus: for the questorship, thirty-one years; for the edileship, thirty-seven; for the pretorship, forty; and for the consulship, forty-three.

berius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus were continued in command of their provinces, Lucania and Gaul, with the same forces as before; as was Publius Lentulus in the old Roman province in Sicily; Marcus Marcellus in Syracuse, and the late dominions of Hiero; Titus Otacilius in the command of the fleet, Marcus Valerius in that of Greece, Quintus Mucius Scaevola in that of Sardinia, and the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, in that of Spain. In addition to the troops already on foot, two city legions were levied by the consuls, the number of these this year being raised to twenty-three. The behaviour of Marcus Postumius Pyrgensis impeded these levies of the consuls, and went very near exciting a great and general commotion. This man was a farmer of the revenue, and for many years had not in the whole empire any equal in fraud and avarice, excepting Lucius Pomponius Veientanus, who was made prisoner by the Carthaginians under Hannó, while he was inconsiderately ravaging the lands of Lucania. As the public were to undergo any loss of the supplies sent for the use of the armies, which should be occasioned by storm, these two had fabricated accounts of pretended shipwreck; and even such as they reported with a degree of truth, had happened through their own fraudulent contrivance, not through accident. Having put a few goods of little worth on board of old shattered vessels, they sunk these in the deep, after taking out the sailors into boats prepared for the purpose, and then made a false return of the cargoes, as of much more considerable value than they really were. A discovery of this fraud had been made the year before to Marcus Atilius, the pretor, and by him communicated to the senate; but still no vote of censure had passed on it, because the senators were unwilling to disoblige, at such a time as that, the body of revenue-farmers. The assembly of the people, however, proved a more strict avenger of it; and two plebeian tribunes, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, exerting themselves at last, when they saw that such conduct was become generally odious and scandalous, proposed a fine on Marcus Postumius of two hundred thousand asses in weight.* When the day arrived on which the cause was to be argued, such vast numbers of the commons attended the assembly, that the area of the capitol could scarcely contain them; and when the pleadings were finished, the only hope which the defendant seemed to have was, that Caius Servilius Casca, a plebeian tribune, his near relation and intimate friend, should interpose a protest before the tribes were called on for their opinions. After the witnesses had been ex-

amined, the tribunes desired the people to withdraw, and the urn was brought, in order that the tribes should draw lots, and then proceed to determine the matter. Meanwhile, the revenue-farmers urged Casca to stop the proceedings for that day, at which the commons loudly declared their displeasure, and Casca happening to sit foremost at a front corner of the rostrum, his mind was highly agitated at once by fear and shame. Finding no support in him, the revenue-farmers, for the purpose of obstructing the business, rushed in a compact body into the space which had been cleared by the withdrawing of some, wrangling at the same time with the remaining people, and with the tribunes. The dispute now seemed likely to proceed to violence, when the consul Fulvius said to the tribunes, "Do you not see that your authority is annihilated, and that an insurrection will probably be the consequence, unless you quickly dismiss the assembly of the commons?"

4. The commons were accordingly dismissed; and the consuls, having assembled the senate, required their judgment concerning the interruption given to the assembly of the people, and the audacious violence of the revenue-farmers; representing, at the same time, that "Marcus Furius Camillus, whose banishment was followed by the downfall of the city, had submitted to a sentence of condemnation passed on him by his angry countrymen. That, before him, the decemvirs, whose laws were the public rule of conduct to the present day, and, afterwards, many of the most distinguished personages in the state, had yielded themselves to the public judgment: but Postumius, an obscure individual of Pyrgi, had wrested from the Roman people their right of suffrage; had dissolved an assembly of the commons, annihilated the authority of the tribunes, arrayed a band of men, and seized on a post, with design to cut off all communication between the commons and their tribunes, and to prevent the tribes being called to vote. That nothing had restrained the people from riot and bloodshed but the calmness and moderation of the magistrates, in giving way for the time to the desperate audaciousness of a few, in suffering themselves and the Roman people to be overcome; and, rather than an occasion should be given to those who wished for a riot, dissolving, according to the defendant's desire, the assembly whose proceedings he intended to hinder by force of arms." Every man of character reprobated such conduct as its heinousness deserved; and a decree of the senate was passed, declaring such violent outrage against the state, and of pernicious example: on which the Carvili, plebeian tribunes, desisting from the prosecution of the fine, immediately brought forward a capital accusation against

Postumius, and ordered, that unless he gave bail he should be taken into custody by the beadle, and carried to prison. Postumius, after giving bail, did not appear. The tribunes then proposed to the commons, and the commons passed this order, that "if Marcus Postumius did not appear before the calends of May, and, being summoned on that day, did not answer to the charge, or show sufficient cause for his non-appearance, he should be adjudged an exile, his goods should be confiscated, and himself interdicted from fire and water."* They then proceeded to prosecute on capital charges, and compelled to give bail each of those who had fomented the tumult and disorder. At first they threw into prison such as could not find security, and afterwards even such as could; to avoid the danger of which treatment most of those concerned went into exile. Such were the consequences of the fraud of the revenue-farmers, and of their daring attempt to screen themselves from punishment.

5. An assembly was then held for the election of a chief pontiff, at which Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, the new pontiff, presided. Three candidates maintained a very obstinate contest: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, now a third time consul, who had formerly served the office of censor; Titus Manlius Torquatus, distinguished likewise by two consulships and the censorship; and Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also to solicit for the office of curule edile. The latter, young as he was, gained a complete victory over his competitors in this dispute, notwithstanding their advantages in respect of years, and the honours with which they were decorated. Before him there had not occurred, in the course of a hundred and twenty years, an instance of any person who had not sat in a curule chair being created chief pontiff, excepting Publius Cornelius Calpurnius. Although the consuls found it very difficult to complete the levies of young men, for the purposes of filling up vacancies in the old legions and raising new ones for the city, yet the senate forbade them to cease their endeavours, and ordered two sets of triumvirs to be appointed, one of which within, and the other beyond, the distance of fifty miles, should inspect into the number of free-born men in all the market-towns and villages, and enlist such for soldiers as had strength enough to carry arms, though they should not yet have attained the regular age for service; and that "the plebeian tribunes would be pleased to propose to the people the passing of an order, that all per-

* There was no law which authorized the sentencing a Roman citizen, directly, to banishment; but by the interdiction above mentioned the criminal was deprived of every right of a citizen; and, it being declared unlawful to supply him with any necessary, he was compelled to go into exile.

sons under the age of seventeen years, who should take the military oath, should be allowed their years of service, in like manner as if they had been of the age of seventeen or older when enlisted." In pursuance of this decree of the senate, two sets of triumvirs were appointed, who enlisted free-born youths in every part of the country.

6. At this time a letter was read in the senate, written from Sicily by Marcus Metellus, relative to a request of the troops serving under Publius Lentulus. This army consisted of those who had been in the battle of Cannæ; they had been sent abroad into Sicily, as mentioned before, under a rule that they should not be brought home to Italy before the conclusion of the Carthaginian war. With the permission of Lentulus they sent the most respectable among the horsemen and centurions, and a chosen number of the legionary infantry, as deputies to Marcus Marcellus, to his winter quarters; and, when they were admitted to an audience, one of them addressed him in this manner: "Marcus Marcellus, we would have carried our remonstrances into Italy to you, while you were consul, immediately after the passing of that severe, if we may not call it unjust, decree of the senate concerning us, had we not entertained the hope, that being sent into a province full of disturbance, in consequence of the death of their kings, to maintain a war of difficulty against the united forces of Sicilians and Carthaginians, we might, by our wounds and blood, have made satisfaction to the anger of the senate, as, in the memory of our fathers, our countrymen, taken by Pyrrhus at Heraclea, made atonement by their exertions in arms against the same Pyrrhus. Yet, conscript fathers, for what demerit on our part did you then conceive, or do you now retain, displeasure against us? Addressing you, Marcus Marcellus, I consider myself as addressing both the consuls and the whole senate; for had you been our consul at Cannæ, both our affairs and those of the public would have been in a happier state. Suffer me, then, I beseech you, before I complain of the hardship of our situation, to clear ourselves of the guilt which is laid to our charge. If the cause of our ruin at Cannæ was not the wrath of the gods, nor the decree of fate, under whose laws the immutable series of human events is carried on in a regular chain, but misconduct in some, to whom, I pray you, is that misconduct to be imputed? To the soldiers, or to the commanders? As a soldier, I shall certainly never say any thing of my commander; especially since I know that thanks have been given him by the senate for not having despaired of the commonwealth, and that, since his fall, the army from Cannæ, he has been continued in command through every succeeding year. We have heard, moreover, that others who save

their lives on that melancholy occasion, and who were then our military tribunes, sue for, and administer offices of honour, and hold the command of provinces: is it, conscript fathers, that you easily grant pardon to yourselves, and to your offspring, while you inexorably pour vengeance on our worthless heads? Was it no disgrace for a consul, and other chiefs of the state, to fly, when no other hope was left; and did you send your soldiers into the field under a particular obligation to die there? At the Allia almost the whole army fled; at the Caudine forks the troops, without even attempting opposition, surrendered to the enemy; not to mention other and shameful defeats. Nevertheless, so far were those armies from having any mark of ignominy contrived for them, that the city of Rome was recovered by means of those very troops who had fled from the Allia to Veii; and the Caudine legions, who had returned without arms to Rome, being sent back armed into Samnium, sent under the yoke that very enemy who had so lately exulted in their disgrace. But can any one make a charge of cowardice, or running away, on the troops who fought in the battle of Cannæ, in which more than fifty thousand men fell; from which the consul made his escape with only seventy horsemen; and from which no one brought away his life who does not owe it to the enemy's being fatigued with killing? At the time when the proposal of ransoming the prisoners was rejected, people in general bestowed praises on us for having reserved ourselves for the use of the commonwealth, for having gone back to the consul to Venusia, and formed an appearance of a regular army. Now we are in a worse condition than were those taken by an enemy in the time of our fathers: for, in their case, there was only an alteration made in their arms, in their station in the army, and in the place where they were to pitch their tents in camp; all which, however, they reversed at once, by a strenuous exertion in the service of the public, by one successful battle. None of them were sent into banishment; not one was precluded from the hope of serving out his legal term and gaining a discharge; in short, they were brought face to face with an enemy, in fighting whom they might at once put an end either to their life or their dishonour. We, to whom nothing can be imputed, except that our conduct was the cause that any one Roman soldier survived the battle of Cannæ, are driven away to a distance, not only from our native country, and from Italy, but even from an enemy, to a place where we may grow old in exile, shut out from all hope, all opportunity of obliterating our disgrace, or of appeasing the wrath of our countrymen, or, in fine, of dying with honour. However, we seek not either an end of our ignominy or the rewards of valour; we

desire only permission to give a proof of our spirit, and to exercise our courage; we seek labour and danger, that we may discharge the duties of men and of soldiers. This is now the second year during which war is maintained in Sicily with great vigour on both sides; the Carthaginians conquer some cities, the Romans others; armies of infantry and of cavalry engage in battle; the operations are carried on at Syracuse by land and by sea; we plainly hear the shouts of the combatants, and the din of their arms, while we lie inactive and torpid, as if we had neither hands nor armour. With legions composed of slaves, the consul Tiberius Sempronius fought many pitched battles: they enjoy the fruits of their labour, freedom, and the rights of citizens. Let us be considered at least as slaves purchased for the purpose of the present war. Let us be allowed to face the enemy, and to acquire freedom in battle. Do you choose to try our courage on sea, or on land; in the field, or in assaulting towns? Our petition is for the most arduous enterprises, the greatest labour, and the utmost danger; that what ought to have happened at Cannæ may happen as soon as possible, since the whole remainder of our lives, from that day, has been doomed to shame."

7. At the conclusion of this speech, they prostrated themselves at Marcellus' feet. Marcellus told them that a business of that sort lay not within his authority or his power; that he would write to the senate, and govern himself in every particular by the judgment of that body. His letter on the subject was brought to the new consuls, and read by them in the senate, when the matter being taken into consideration, a decree was passed to this purpose, "that the senate saw no reason why the interests of the commonwealth should be intrusted to men who had deserted their fellow-soldiers in battle at Cannæ: that if Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, was of a different opinion, he should act as he might judge consistent with the public good and his own honour, provided that none of those persons should be excused from labour, or receive any military present in reward of courage, or be brought home to Italy while the enemy had any footing there." After this, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, and an order of the people, an assembly of election was held by the city pretor, in which were created five commissioners for repairing the walls and towers, and two sets of triumvirs; one to search for the effects belonging to the temples, and register the offerings; the other to repair the temples of Fortune, and Mother Matuta, within the Carmental gate, and likewise that of Hope, on the outside of the gate, which had been consumed by fire, the year before. There were dreadful storms at this time: on the Alban

mount a shower of stones lasted, without intermission, for two days; many places were struck with lightning; two buildings in the capitol; the rampart of the camp above Sueassula, in many places; and two of the men on guard were killed. A wall and some towers at Cumæ were not only struck, but demolished by lightning. At Reate a huge rock was seen to fly about, and the sun appeared more red than usual, and of a colour like blood. On account of these prodigies there was a supplication for one day, the consuls employing themselves for several others in the performance of religious rites; at the same time solemn worship was performed during nine days. The revolt of the Tarentines, after having been long hoped for by Hannibal, and apprehended by the Romans, happened to be accelerated by a cause which originated at a distance. A Tarentine, named Phileas, had been a long time at Rome under the pretext of political business: being a man of restless disposition, and conceiving that he was losing his active powers during his stay in that city, he contrived to gain access to the hostages from Tarentum, who were kept in the court of the temple of Liberty, and guarded with the less care, because it was not the interest either of themselves or of their state to impose on the Romans. Having, after frequent conversations, procured their concurrence in his scheme, and bribed two of their keepers, he brought them out of their confinement in the beginning of the night, and fled in company with them. As soon as day arrived, the news of their escape spread through the city, and a party sent in pursuit of them seized them all at Tarracina, and brought them back. They were led into the comitium, and with the approbation of the people, scourged with rods, and thrown down from the rock.

8. The cruelty of this punishment exasperated the inhabitants of the two most considerable Grecian cities in Italy, both as communities, and as individuals connected in relation or friendship with the persons thus put to death. A conspiracy was formed in consequence by about thirteen of the young nobility of Tarentum, at the head of whom were Nico and Philemenus. Judging it necessary, before they took any step, to confer with Hannibal, they went out of the city by night, under pretence of hunting, and repaired to the place where he lay. When they came within a small distance of his camp, the rest concealed themselves in a wood near the road, while Nico and Philemenus, proceeding to the advanced guard, were taken into custody, and, at their own request, conducted into the presence of Hannibal. When they had laid before him the reasons for their undertaking, and what they intended to perform, they received

high commendations, and a profusion of promises; and were desired, in order to make their countrymen believe that they came out of the city in search of plunder, to drive home before them some cattle belonging to the Carthaginians, which had been turned into pasture: at the same time assurance was given them that they might do it with safety and without a dispute. Such a booty acquired by the young men was much noticed, and people wondered the less at their frequently repeating the same kind of enterprise. At another meeting with Hannibal, a covenant was solemnly ratified, that the Tarentines should, together with freedom, retain their own laws, and all their rights; that they should neither pay any kind of tribute to the Carthaginians, nor, without their own consent, receive a garrison from them; but that the present garrisons, when overpowered, should be put into the hands of the Carthaginians. After the terms were thus settled, Philemenus continued his practice of going out, and returning into the city, by night, with still greater frequency, attended by dogs and other requisites for hunting, of which he was remarkably fond; then, bringing home something, which he either took himself in the chase, or carried off from the enemy, who laid it purposely in his way, he generally presented it to the commander, or to the watchmen at the gates, who supposed that he chose to pass particularly by night, through fear of surprise. When this practice had now become so customary, that at whatever time of night he gave the signal by a whistle the gate would be opened, Hannibal thought it was time to put their design into execution. He lay at the distance of three days' journey, and, in order that his keeping his camp fixed in one and the same spot, for such a length of time, might create the less wonder, feigned himself sick. Even the Romans in garrison at Tarentum had now ceased to look with suspicion on his remaining so long inactive.

9. But when he determined to go on to Tarentum, choosing out of the infantry and cavalry ten thousand men, who in activity of body, and lightness of their armour, seemed best qualified for expedition, he began his march at the fourth watch of the night; having first detached about eighty Numidian horsemen, with orders to scour the country on each side of the road, examining every place where the people who might observe his advance should escape; to bring back such intelligence on the way, and to kill all whom they neighbouring inhabitants might have plundering party, rather than an army marching with rapid speed, pitched his camp of about fifteen miles from Tarentum.

there, discover to the soldiers their destination, only giving it in charge not to suffer any one to turn aside, or quit the line; and, above all, to keep their attention alert to receive orders, and to do nothing without the command of their officers; adding, that in due time he would let them know what he wished to be done. About the same hour a report had reached Tarentum that a small number of Numidian horsemen were ravaging the lands, and had spread terror among the inhabitants through a great part of the country; but the Roman commander paid no farther regard to this intelligence than to order a party of cavalry to go out very early next morning to stop these depredations; and, so far was he from increasing his vigilance in other respects, that, on the contrary, he considered this inroad of the Numidians as a proof that Hannibal and his army had not stirred from their camp. Early in the night the Carthaginian put his troops in motion, and Philemenus, with his usual burden taken in hunting, served him as a guide, while the rest of the conspirators waited for the concerted signals. It had been settled among them that Philemenus, bringing in his game through the gate where he was accustomed to pass, should introduce some men in arms, while Hannibal should, on another side, approach the gate called Temenis, which, being about the middle of the land side, faced towards the east, and near which, within the walls, stood some tombs, where Nico waited his arrival. On approaching the place, Hannibal, according to agreement, raised up a fire, and made it blaze. The same signal was returned by Nico, and then the fires were extinguished on both sides. Hannibal led on his men in silence to the gate. Nico, falling suddenly on the guards, who were fast asleep, slew them in their beds, and threw the gate open. Hannibal then entered with his infantry, but ordered the cavalry to halt without, in order that if occasion should require, they might have open ground to act in. At the same time Philemenus, on the other side, drew nigh the postern through which he had usually passed, and his signal, which had now become familiar, with his well-known voice, saying that he was hardly able to bear the weight of a huge beast he had killed, soon brought out a watchman, and the gate was opened. While two young men carried in a boar, he himself followed with a huntsman unincumbered, and while the watchman, astonished at the size of the animal, turned incautiously to those who carried it, he ran him through with a hunting spear. About thirty armed men then pushed in, slew the rest of the watchmen, and broke open the next gate, through which a band of soldiers in array immediately burst in. These were conducted thence in silence to the forum, and there joined Hannibal. The Carthaginian now sent the

Tarentines of his party, with two thousand Gauls, formed in three divisions, through the several parts of the city with orders to take possession of the most frequented streets, and, on a tumult arising, to kill the Romans everywhere, and spare the townsmen. But to render this practicable, he gave direction to the young Tarentines, that whenever they saw any of their countrymen at a distance, they should bid them be quiet and silent, and fear nothing.

10. Now all was tumult and uproar as usual in a city newly taken, but how occasioned, no one knew with certainty. The Tarentines supposed that the Romans had risen in arms to sack the city; the Romans that an insurrection, with some treacherous intent, had taken place among the townsmen. The commander, being roused at the beginning of the disturbance, fled away to the port, and getting into a boat, was carried round to the citadel. The consternation was increased by the sound of a trumpet heard from the theatre: it was a Roman one, procured beforehand by the conspirators for this purpose, and being unskilfully blown by a Greek, it was impossible to discover who gave that signal, or to whom it was given. When day appeared, the sight of the Carthaginian and Gallic arms removed all doubt from the minds of the Romans; and, on the other side, the Greeks, seeing these lie slaughtered in every quarter, perceived that the city was taken by Hannibal. When the light became more clear, and the Romans who survived the carnage, had fled into the citadel, the tumult began gradually to subside, then Hannibal ordered the Tarentines to be called together without their arms. They all attended, some few excepted, who had accompanied the Romans in their retreat into the citadel, resolved to share every fortune with them. Here Hannibal addressed the Tarentines in terms of much kindness; reminded them of his behaviour to their countrymen, whom he had taken at the Thrasymentus or Cannæ, inveighing, at the same time, against the overbearing tyranny of the Romans. He then ordered each to retire to his own house, and to write his name on the door; because, on a signal shortly to be given, he would order every house not so inscribed to be plundered; adding, that if any should write his name on the habitation of a citizen of Rome, (for the Romans lived in houses of their own,) he should be treated as an enemy. The assembly was then dismissed, and as soon as the doors were marked with inscriptions, so as to distinguish the houses of friends from those of enemies, the signal was given, and the troops spread themselves through all parts of the town to plunder the quarters of the Romans, in which a considerable booty was found.

11. On the following day he led on his forces to attack

the citadel; but found that on the side towards the sea, which flows almost round it, forming it into a peninsula, it was defended by very high rocks, and on the side towards the town by a wall, and a very large ditch; and that consequently it was impregnable, either in the way of assault, or by regular approaches. Not choosing either to be detained from more important business, by taking on himself the care of defending the Tarentines, or in case he left them without a strong garrison, to put it in the power of the Romans to attack them from the citadel whenever they pleased, he determined to cut off the communication between the citadel and the city by a rampart. Besides, he entertained some hopes that the Romans, attempting to hinder this, might be brought to an engagement, and that, should they sally forth with more than ordinary eagerness, great numbers of them might be cut off, and the strength of the garrison thereby reduced to such a degree that the Tarentines could alone defend the city against them. As soon as the work was begun, the garrison, suddenly throwing open one of the gates, made an attack on the workmen. The guards there stationed suffered themselves to be beaten off, in order that the others might grow bolder on success, and that greater numbers of them might join in the pursuit, and advance to a greater distance. This they did; when, on a signal given, the Carthaginians, whom Hannibal had kept in readiness for this purpose, rushed forward on all sides. The Romans were unable to withstand their onset; while the narrowness of the ground, and the difficulties caused by the part of the work already begun, and the implements collected for carrying it on, obstructed their hasty flight, so that most of them tumbled headlong into the ditch, and more lives were thus lost than in the battle. The work was then carried on without any further obstruction. A ditch of vast dimensions was dug, and on the inner side of that a rampart thrown up. It was resolved likewise to add, at a small distance behind, and in the same direction, a wall, so that even without a garrison the townsmen might be able to secure themselves against any attack of the Romans. Hannibal, however, left a company to serve as such, and at the same time to assist in completing the wall; and then, marching out with the rest of his forces, he encamped at the river Galesus, about five miles distant from the city. From this post he returned to inspect the work, and finding that it had advanced much more briskly than he had expected, conceived hopes of being able even to make himself master of the citadel, which is not secured, like other fortresses of the kind, by height of situation, but built on level ground, and divided from the city only by a wall and a trench. The approaches were now pushed for-

ward with every kind of machinery, when a reinforcement, sent from Metapontum, inspired the Romans with courage to assail the works of the enemy by surprise in the night. Some of them they levelled, others they destroyed by fire; and this put an end to Hannibal's attacks on the citadel in that quarter. His only prospect of success was now in a blockade, and that not very flattering, because the citadel, being seated on a peninsula, commanded the entrance of the harbour, and had the sea open; while the city was of course debarred from the importation of provisions, and the besiegers were in more danger of want than the besieged. Hannibal, calling together the chiefs of the Tarentines, enumerated all the present difficulties, and added, that "he could neither see any way of storming so strong a fortress, nor place any hope in a blockade, as long as the enemy had the command of the sea. But if he were possessed of ships, by means of which he could prevent the introduction of supplies, the garrison would speedily either abandon the place, or surrender." In this the Tarentines agreed with him; but they were of opinion that "he who offered the counsel ought likewise to offer aid, to put it in execution; for, if the Carthaginian ships were called over from Sicily, they would be able to effect the purpose: as to their own, which were shut up in a narrow creek, how could they, while the enemy commanded the harbour's mouth, ever make their way into the open sea?"—"They shall make their way," said Hannibal: "many things, difficult in their nature, are made easy by good management. Your city lies in a plain; very wide and level roads stretch out to every side; by that which runs across the middle of the city, from the harbour to the sea, I will, without much labour, carry over your ships on wagons. The sea, now in possession of the foe, will then be ours; we will invest the citadel on that side, and on this by land; or rather, we will shortly take possession of it, for the garrison will either abandon it, or surrender themselves with it." This discourse excited not only hopes of the design being accomplished, but the highest admiration of the general's skill. Immediately wagons were collected from all parts, and fastened together; machines were applied to haul up the ships, and the road was repaired, in order that the vehicles might meet the less obstruction in passing. Beasts for drawing, with a number of men, were then procured: the work was commenced with briskness, so that in a few days the fleet, equipped and manned, sailed round the citadel, and cast anchor just before the mouth of the harbour. In this state Hannibal left affairs at Tarentum, and returned to his winter-quarters. Whether the defection of the Tarentines took place in this, or the preceding year, authors are not

agreed: the greater number, and those who lived nearest to the time of these transactions, represent it as having happened as here stated.

12. At Rome the Latine festival detained the consuls and pretors until the fifth of the calends of May: on that day, having completed the solemnities on the mount, they set out for their respective provinces. A new perplexity, respecting religious matters, afterward occurred, arising from the divinations of Marcius. This Marcius had been a celebrated soothsayer, and when, in the preceding year, an inquiry after such books as regarded them was made, according to the decree of the senate, his had come into the hands of Marcus Atilius, the city pretor, who was employed in that business, and he had handed them over to the new pretor Sulla. Of two predictions of this Marcius, one, on account of its verity, for it was actually fulfilled, procured credit to the other, the time of whose completion had not yet arrived. In the former of these, the defeat of Cannæ was foretold, nearly in these words: "Roman of Trojan race, fly the river Cannæ, lest foreigners compel thee to fight in the plain of Diomede. But thou wilt not believe me until thou fillest the plain with blood, and the river carry many of thy thousands slain from the fruitful land into the great sea. To fishes, and birds, and beasts of prey inhabiting the earth, to these, thy flesh be food: for so has Jupiter said to me." Those who had served in the army in those parts recollected the plains of the Argive Diomede and the river Cannæ, as well as the defeat itself. The other prophecy was then read: it was more obscure, and the expression more perplexed: "Romans, if you wish to expel the enemy, and the ulcer which has come from afar, I direct that games be vowed to Apollo, and that they be performed in honour of that deity every year, with cheerfulness. When the people shall have granted a particular sum out of the public fund, let private persons contribute each according to his ability. At the performance of these games, that pretor will preside who shall hold the supreme administration of justice in respect to the people and commons. Let the decemvirs sacrifice victims after the Grecian mode. If you do these things properly you shall ever rejoice, and your state will improve; for Apollo will extirpate your foes who quietly feed on your plains." They took one day to explain this prophecy, and on the following a decree of the senate was passed, that the decemvirs should examine the books concerning the performance of games and sacrifices to Apollo. When the examination was made, and the result reported to the senate, they voted that games should be vowed to Apollo, and that when these should be finished ten thousand asses

in weight* should be given to the pretor to defray the expenses of the public worship, and also two victims of the larger sort." By another decree they ordered "that the decemvirs should sacrifice according to the Grecian rites, and with the following victims: to Apollo, with a gilded steer; to Diana, with two white gilded goats; and to Lato-na, with a gilded heifer." The pretor, when about to exhibit the games in the great circus, published a proclamation that the people should, during those games, pay in their contributions, proportioned to their ability, for the service of Apollo. This was the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were vowed and performed for the attaining of success, and not of health, as is generally supposed. At the exhibitions of the games all wore garlands, the matrons made supplications, and people in general feasted in the courts of their houses, with their doors open; and the day was solemnized with every kind of religious ceremony.

13. While Hannibal was in the neighbourhood of Tarentum both the consuls continued in Samnium, showing every appearance of an intention to besiege Capua. The inhabitants of that city began already to feel a calamity, usually attendant on long sieges, a famine, the consequence of their having been hindered by the Roman armies from tilling their lands. They therefore sent deputies to Hannibal, entreating that, before the consuls should march the legions into their country, and all the roads should be occupied by their parties, he would order corn to be conveyed into Capua from the neighbouring places. On this, Hannibal immediately commanded Hanno to march away with his army from Bruttium into Campania, and to take care that the Capuans should be well supplied with corn. Hanno, on leaving Bruttium, was careful to avoid the camps of the enemy, and the consuls who were in Samnium: and coming near Beneventum, encamped on an elevated spot, three miles from that town. From thence he issued orders that the corn collected in the summer should be brought in from the states of that country, who were of his party, to his camp, and appointed troops to escort the convoys. He then sent an express to the Capuans, fixing a day on which they should attend to receive the corn, with the carriages of all kinds, and beasts of burden, which they could collect. This business the Campanians conducted with their usual carelessness and indolence; little more than forty carriages were sent, and with them a few beasts of burden: for which they were sharply rebuked by Hanno, who observed, that even

hunger, which kindled a spirit in dumb beasts, could not stimulate those people to active diligence: however, he appointed another day, when they were to come for the corn with more sufficient means of conveyance. The people of Beneventum being informed of every particular in these transactions, instantly despatched ten deputies to the consuls encamped near Bovianum, who, as soon as they heard what was going on at Capua, agreed between themselves that one of them should lead his army into Campania: and accordingly Fulvius, to whose lot that province had fallen, setting out by night, marched into the town of Beneventum. Here, the distance being short, he quickly learned that Hanno had gone out with a division of his army to forage; that the business of delivering the corn to the Capuans was managed by a questor; that two thousand carts had arrived, attended by a disorderly unarmed rabble; that every thing was done with hurry and confusion, and that the regularity of a camp, and military subordination, were entirely banished by the intermixture of such a number of peasants. This intelligence being sufficiently authenticated, the consul issued orders that the soldiers should get in readiness against the next night their standards and arms, as he intended to attack the Carthaginian camp. Leaving all their knapsacks and baggage at Beneventum, they began their march at the fourth watch; and arriving a little before day at the camp, struck such terror there, that if it had stood on level ground they might undoubtedly have taken it at the first assault: it was protected by the height of its situation, and its fortifications, which could not be approached on any side, except by a steep and difficult ascent.

14. At the dawn of day a furious battle commenced: the Carthaginians not only maintained their rampart, but, having the advantage of the ground, tumbled down the enemy as they climbed up the steeps: nevertheless, the obstinate courage of the latter overcame all obstacles, and they made their way in several parts at once up to the rampart and trenches, but at the expense of many wounds, and a great loss of men. The consul, therefore, calling together the military tribunes, told them, that "this inconsiderate attempt must be given up, and that he judged it the safer course to carry back the army immediately to Beneventum, and then on the day following to pitch his camp so close to that of the enemy, as to put it out of the power, either of the Campanians to go out, or of Hanno to return into it; and that, in order to effect this with the greater ease, he should send for his colleague, and the army under his command; and that they should direct their whole force to that point." This plan of the general was disconcerted, after the retreat began to sound, by

the shouts of the soldiers, expressing their scorn of such pusillanimous orders. Close to one of the enemy's gates was a Pelignian cohort, whose commander, Vibius Accuæus, snatched the standard, and threw it over the rampart, uttering imprecations on himself and the cohort, if they left their ensign in the hands of the enemy. He then rushed forward, across the ditch and rampart, into the camp. The Pelignians now fought within the rampart, when Valerius Flaccus, a military tribune of the third legion, began upbraiding the Romans with dastardly behaviour, in yielding up to the allies the honour of taking the camp. On this Titus Pedanius, first centurion, and who commanded the first century, snatching the ensign from the standard-bearer, cried out, "This standard, too, and I your centurion, will instantly be within the rampart: let those follow who wish to save the same from falling into the enemy's hands." Then crossing the ditch, he was followed, first, by the men of his own century, and, afterward, by the whole legion. The consul now seeing them mount the rampart, altered his design, and instead of calling off the troops, exerted himself to incite and animate them; representing the imminent hazard and danger to which that very gallant cohort of their allies, and a legion of their own countrymen, were exposed. On which they one and all, with the utmost ardour, regardless whether the ground was easy or difficult, pushed onward through every obstacle; and, in spite of the showers of weapons which fell on every side, and of all the opposition which the enemy with their arms and bodies could give them, forced their way in. Many even of the wounded, and of those whose blood and strength began to fail them, struggled forward, that they might fall in the camp of the enemy. It was entered, therefore, in as short a space as if it had stood in a plain, and had no fortification to protect it. Both armies being now shut up together within the rampart, the sequel was a carnage, not a fight: upwards of six thousand of the enemy were slain, and above seven thousand taken, together with the Campanians, who came for the corn, and all their train of wagons and beasts of burden. There was also great abundance of other booty, which Hanno and his plunderers had collected out of the lands of the states in alliance with the Roman people. After demolishing the enemy's camp, the army returned to Beneventum, and there the consuls (for Appius Claudius came thither in a few days after) divided and sold the spoil. Those who were chiefly instrumental in this affair, particularly Accuæus, the Pelignian, and Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the third legion, received honorary presents. Hanno, who was then at Caminium, in the territory of Cæres, on being informed of the loss of his

camp, returned with the small party of foragers which he had with him into Bruttium, in a manner more like a flight than a march.

15. The Campanians, when informed of the disaster which had fallen on them and their allies, despatched deputies to Hannibal, to acquaint him that "the two consuls were at Beneventum, within one day's march of Capua; so that the war might almost be said to be close to their gates and walls. That unless he afforded them speedy succour, Capua would fall into the enemy's power in a shorter time than Arpi had done. That even Tarentum, taken in its whole extent, not to speak of its citadel, ought not to be deemed of such consequence, as to induce him to neglect the defence of Capua, (a city which he used to compare to Carthage,) and to throw it into the hands of the Roman people." Hannibal promised to pay due attention to the affairs of the Campanians; and, for the present, sent with their deputies a body of two thousand horsemen, to assist them in protecting their lands from depredations. Meanwhile the Romans, among the variety of their other concerns, were not disregarding of the citadel of Tarentum, and the garrison besieged in it. By direction of the senate, Caius Servilius, lieutenant-general, was sent by Publius Cornelius, pretor, into Etruria, to purchase corn; with which, having loaded several vessels, he passed through the guard-ships of the enemy, and arrived in the port of Tarentum. His coming produced such a change in their disposition, that they who a little before, when their hopes of relief were small, had frequently in conferences been solicited by the Carthaginian to desert the Roman cause, began now to solicit him to come over to them. The garrison was abundantly strong, for the troops stationed at Metapontum had been brought hither for the defence of the citadel. The Metapontines being hereby freed from the restraint under which they had been held, instantly revolted to Hannibal; as did the Thurians on the same coast, induced, not only by the example of the Tarentines and Metapontines, with whom they were connected by consanguinity, being originally descended from natives of the same country of Achaia, but principally by resentment against the Romans for the late execution of the hostages. The friends and relations of these sent letters and messages to Hanno and Mago, who were at no great distance in Bruttium, that if they brought their army near the walls, they would deliver the city into their hands. There was a small garrison at Thurium commanded by Marcus Atinius, and they supposed that he might be easily tempted to engage rashly in a battle; not from any confidence in his own troops, (for they were very few,) but from relying on the support of the young men of

the place, whom he had purposely formed into companies and armed, that he might have them ready to aid him in exigences of the kind. The Carthaginian commanders, dividing their forces, entered the territory of Thurium; and then Hanno, at the head of the infantry, in hostile array, advanced towards the city; while Mago, with the cavalry, halted under the cover of some hills which stood conveniently for concealing the stratagem. Atinius, learning nothing from his scouts but the march of the infantry, and ignorant both of the treachery within the city, and of the enemy's ambush, led out his forces to battle. The infantry engaged without any degree of vigour, the only exertions being made by the few Romans in front, the Thurians rather waiting for the issue, than taking any part in the action, while the Carthaginian line retreated on purpose to draw the incautious enemy to the back of the hill, where their horse was posted. No sooner did they arrive here than the cavalry, rushing on with loud shouts, instantly put to flight the crowd of Thurians, who were almost ignorant of discipline, and not very faithfully attached to the party on whose side they appeared. The Romans, notwithstanding their being surrounded and hard pressed by the infantry on one side, and the cavalry on the other, maintained the fight for a considerable time; at last they also turned their backs and fled towards the city. Here the conspirators were collected together in a body, and received with open gates the multitude of their countrymen; but when they saw the routed Romans making towards them, they cried out that the Carthaginians were close at hand, and if the gates were not speedily closed, the enemy and all together would pour in. In this manner they shut out the Romans, and left them to perish by the sword. Atinius, however, with a few others, gained admittance. A dispute now arose, and lasted for some time: one party maintained that they ought to defend the city, another, that they ought to yield to fortune, and surrender it to the conquerors. But, as is too often the case, bad counsels prevailed. They conveyed Atinius, with a few attendants, to the ships near the shore, which they did out of personal regard to himself, and on account of the justice and mildness of his conduct in command, rather than out of good-will to the Romans, and then opened their gates to the Carthaginians. The consuls led their legions from Beneventum into the territory of Campania, with the intention not only of destroying the corn, which was now in the blade, but of laying siege to Capua; hoping to signalize their consulate by the destruction of so opulent a city, and to free the same time to free their government from the great shadow of suffering a revolt so near home to pass unpunished during the space of three

years. But that Beneventum should not be without a garrison, and that in case of sudden emergencies, if Hannibal should come to Capua to succour his allies, as they had no doubt but he would, there might be a body of cavalry to oppose his, they ordered Tiberius Gracchus to come from Lucania to Beneventum, with his horse and light infantry, and to appoint some officer to command the legions in camp, in order to preserve peace with Lucania.

16. While Gracchus was performing sacrifices, preparatory to his departure from Lucania, a prodigy of disastrous import occurred: when a victim was killed, two snakes, creeping up from some hiding-place to the entrails, ate the liver, and after being seen by all present, suddenly vanished. It is ever said, that when by advice of the aruspices the same sacrifice was repeated, and the pots containing the entrails were more carefully watched, the snakes came a second and a third time, and after eating the liver, went away unhurt. Though the diviners gave warning that this portent concerned the general, and that he ought to be on his guard against secret enemies and plots, yet his impending fate could not be averted by any effort of prudence. There was a Lucanian called Flavius, the head of that division of his countrymen who adhered to the Romans when the other went over to Hannibal; and he was in that year in the chief magistracy, having been elected pretor by his party. This man changing his mind on a sudden, and seeking some means of ingratiating himself with the Carthaginian, did not think it enough to draw his countrymen into a revolt, unless he ratified the league between him and the enemy with the head and blood of his commander, to whom he was also bound by ties of hospitality, and whom, notwithstanding, he determined to betray. He held a private conference with Mago, who commanded in Bruttium, and having received from him a solemn promise, that if he would deliver the Roman general into the hands of the Carthaginians, the Lucanians should be received into friendship, and retain their own laws and their liberty, he conducted the Carthaginian to a spot, whither, he said, he would bring Gracchus with a few attendants. He then desired Mago to arm both horsemen and footmen, and to take possession of that retired place, where a very large number might be concealed. After thoroughly examining the same on all sides, they appointed a day for the execution of the plan. Flavius then went to the Roman general, and told him that "he had made some progress in an affair of great consequence, to the completion of which the assistance of Gracchus himself was necessary. That he had persuaded all the pretors of those states in Lucania who, during the general defection

in Italy, had revolted to the Carthaginians, to return into friendship with the Romans, alleging that the power of Rome, which by the defeat at Cannæ had been brought to the brink of ruin, was every day improving and increasing, while Hannibal's strength was declining, and had sunk almost to nothing. That with regard to their former transgression, the Romans would not be implacable; for never was there a nation more easily appeased, and more ready to grant pardon: and asking, how often had their own ancestors received pardon of rebellion? These things," he said, "he had represented to them; but that it would be more pleasing to them to hear the same from Gracchus himself; to be admitted into his presence, and to touch his right hand, that they might carry with them that pledge of faith. He had fixed a place," he said, "for the parties to meet, remote from observation, and at a small distance from the Roman camp: there the business might be finished in a few words, and the alliance and obedience of the whole nation of Lucania secured to the Romans." Gracchus not perceiving, either in this discourse, or in the proposition itself, any reason to suspect perfidy, and being imposed on by the plausibility of the tale, left the camp with his lictors and one troop of horse, and following the guidance of his guest, fell precipitately into the snare. The enemy at once rose from their ambush, and, what removed all doubt of treachery, Flavius joined himself to them. Weapons were now poured from all sides on Gracchus and his horsemen. He immediately leaped down from his horse, ordered the rest to do the same, and exhorted them, "as fortune had left them but one part to act, to dignify that part by their bravery. To a handful of men, surrounded by a multitude in a valley hemmed in by woods and mountains, what else was left than to die? The only alternative they had was, either tamely waiting their blows, to be massacred, like cattle, without the pleasure of revenge, or with minds totally abstracted from the thoughts of pain or of what the issue might be, and actuated solely by resentment and rage, to exert every vigorous and daring effort, and to fall covered with the blood of their expiring foes." He desired that "all should aim at the Lucanian traitor and deserter;" adding, that "whoever should send that victim before him to the infernal regions, would acquire distinguished glory, and the greatest consolation for his own loss of life." While he spoke thus, he wrapped his robe about his left arm, (for they had not even brought bucklers with them,) and rushed on the murderers. The fight was maintained with greater vigour than could have been expected, considering the smallness of the number. The Romans, whose bodies were uncovered and

exposed on all sides to weapons thrown from the higher grounds into a deep valley, were mostly pierced through with javelins. Gracchus, being now left without support, the Carthaginians endeavoured to take him alive; but observing his Lucanian guest among them, he rushed with such fury into the thickest of the band, that they could not seize him without the loss of many lives. Mago immediately sent his body to Hannibal, desiring that it should be laid, with the fasces taken at the same time, before the general's tribunal. This is the true account of the matter: Gracchus was cut off in Lucania, near the place called the Old Plains.

17. Some lay the scene of this disaster in the territory of Beneventum, at the river Calor, where, they say, he went from the camp to bathe, attended by his lictors and three servants; that he was slain by a party of the enemy who happened to be lurking in the osiers which grew on the bank, while he was naked and unarmed, attempting however to defend himself with the stones brought down by the river. Others write, that by direction of the aruspices, he went out half a mile from the camp, that he might expiate the prodigies before mentioned in a place free from defilement, and that he was surrounded by two troops of Numidians, who were lying in wait there. So far are writers from agreeing with regard either to the place or the manner of the death of a man so renowned and illustrious. There are also various accounts of his funeral: some say that he was buried by his own men in the Roman camp; others, whose account is more generally received, that a funeral pile was erected for him by Hannibal, at the entrance of the Carthaginian camp, and that the troops under arms marched in procession round it, with the dances of the Spaniards, and the several motions of their arms and bodies peculiar to each nation; while Hannibal himself joined in solemnizing his obsequies with every mark of respect, both in the terms in which he spoke of him, and in the manner of performing the rites. Such is the relation of those who state the affair as having happened in Lucania. If those are to be believed who affirm that he was killed at the river Calor, the enemy kept possession of Gracchus' head only, which being brought to Hannibal, he immediately sent Carthalo to convey it into the Roman camp to Cneius Cornelius the questor; solemnizing the funeral of the general in his camp, in the performance of which the Beneventans joined with the soldiers.

18. The consuls, having entered the Campanian territories, spread devastations on all sides, but were soon alarmed by the townsmen, in conjunction with Mago and his cavalry, marching hastily out against them. They called

in the troops to their standards from the several parts where they were dispersed; but before they had completed the forming of their line of battle, they were put to the rout, and lost above fifteen hundred men. On this success that people, naturally disposed to arrogance, assumed the highest degree of confidence, and endeavoured to provoke the Romans by frequent skirmishes: but the battle, into which they had been incautiously drawn, had rendered the consuls more circumspect. However, the spirit of their party was revived, and the boldness of the other diminished, by an occurrence in itself of a trival nature, but that, in war, scarcely any incident is so insignificant that it may not, on some occasion, give cause to an event of much importance. A Campanian, called Badius, had been a guest of Titus Quintius Crispinus, and lived on terms of the closest friendship and hospitality with him, and their intimacy had increased in consequence of Crispinus having, in his own house at Rome, giving very kind and affectionate attendance to Badius in a fit of sickness which he had there before the defection of Campania. This Badius, now, advancing in front of the guards posted before one of the gates, desired that Crispinus might be called: on being told of it, Crispinus, retaining a sense of private duties even after the dissolution of the public treaties, imagined that his old acquaintance wished for an amicable interview, and went out to some distance. As soon as they came within sight of each other, Badius cried out, "Crispinus, I challenge you to combat: let us mount our horses, and, making the rest keep back, determine which of us is superior in arms." To which Crispinus answered, that "they were neither of them at a loss for enemies, on whom they might display their valour; that, for his part, should he even meet him in the field of battle, he would turn aside, to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of a guest:" he then attempted to go away. Whereon the Campanian, with greater passion, upbraided him as a coward; casting on him undeserved reproaches, which might with greater propriety have been applied to himself; at the same time charging him as being an enemy to the laws of hospitality, and as pretending to be moved by concern for a person to whom he knew himself unequal: he said, that "if not sufficiently convinced that, by the rupture of the public treaties, private obligations were at the same time dissolved, Badius the Campanian, now, in presence of all, in hearing of the two armies, renounced all connexions of hospitality with Titus Quintius Crispinus the Roman. He was under no bond of society with him; an enemy had no claim of alliance on an enemy, whose country, and whose tutelary deities, both public and private,

he had come to invade: if he were a man he would meet him." Crispinus hesitated long; but, at last, the men of his troop persuaded him not to suffer the Campanian to insult him with impunity. Wherefore, - waiting only to ask leave of the generals to fight out of rule, with one who gave him a challenge, with their permission he took arms, mounted his horse, and calling Badius by name, summoned him to the combat. The Campanian made no delay, and they encountered in full career: Crispinus passing his spear over Badius's buckler, ran it through his left shoulder; and, on his falling in consequence of the wound, dismounted in order to despatch him as he lay; but Badius, to avoid impending death, left his horse and his buckler, and ran off to his own party. Crispinus seized the horse and arms, and with these glorious badges of victory, and with his bloody weapon held up to view, was conducted by the soldiers, amidst praises and congratulations, to the consuls, from whom he received ample commendations and honourable presents.

19. Hannibal marched from the territory of Beneventum to Capua; and, on the third day after his arrival there, drew out his forces to face the enemy; confident that after the Campanians had, a few days before, without his assistance, fought them with success, the Romans would be much less able to withstand him and his army, which had so often defeated them. When the battle began, the Roman army was in danger of being worsted, in consequence, principally, of a charge made by the enemy's cavalry, who overwhelmed them with darts, until the signal was given to their own cavalry to charge; and now the contest lay between the horse, when Sempronius's army, commanded by the questor Cneius Cornelius, being descried at a distance, gave an equal alarm, each party fearing that it was a reinforcement coming to his antagonist. The signal of retreat was therefore given on both sides, as if by concert; and, quitting the field on almost equal terms, they retired to their several camps: the Romans, however, had lost the greater number of men by the first onset of the horse. Next night the consuls, in order to draw Hannibal from Capua, marched away by different routes, Fulvius to the territory of Cumæ, Appius Claudius into Lucania. On the day following, when Hannibal was informed that the Romans had forsaken their camp, and gone off in two divisions, by different roads, he hesitated at first, considering which of them he should pursue; and at length determined to follow Appius, who, after leading him about through whatever track he chose, returned by another road to Capua. Hannibal met in that part of the country an unlooked for opportunity of striking an im-

portant blow: there was one Marcus Centenius, surnamed Penula, distinguished among the centurions of the first rank both by the size of his body and by his courage: this man, who had served his time in the army, being introduced to the senate by the pretor, Publius Cornelius Sulla, requested of the senators to grant him the command of five thousand men; assuring them that, "being thoroughly acquainted both with the enemy and the country, he would speedily perform something that should give them satisfaction; and that the same wiles by which hitherto the Roman commanders used to be entrapped, he would practise against the inventor of them." The folly of this proposal was equalled by the folly with which it was assented to; as if the qualifications of a centurion and a general were the same. Instead of five, eight thousand men were granted him, half citizens and half allies: besides these, he collected in his march through the country, a considerable number of volunteers; and, having almost doubled the number of his army, he arrived in Lucania, where Hannibal, after a vain pursuit of Appius, had halted. There was no room for doubt about the result of a contest between such a captain as Hannibal and a subaltern; in short, between armies, of which one was become veteran in a course of conquest, the other entirely new raised, for the most part undisciplined, and but half armed. As soon as the parties came within view of each other, neither declining an engagement, the lines were instantly formed. Notwithstanding the disparity of the forces, the battle was maintained in a manner unprecedented under such circumstances, the Roman soldiers, for more than two hours, making the most strenuous efforts as long as their commander stood: but he, anxious to support his former reputation, and dreading moreover the disgrace which would afterward fall on him if he survived a defeat occasioned by his own temerity, exposed himself rashly to the weapons of the enemy, and was slain; on which the Roman line immediately fell into confusion, and gave way. But even flight was now out of their power; for so effectually had the enemy's cavalry shut up every pass, that out of so great a multitude scarcely a thousand made their escape; the rest, meeting destruction on every side, were all cut off in various ways.

20. The consuls resumed the siege of Capua with the utmost vigour, and took measures for procuring and collecting every thing requisite for carrying it on. A magazine of corn was formed at Casilinum; a strong post was fortified at the mouth of the Volturnus, where now stands a city; and a garrison was put into Puteoli, formerly fortified by Fabius Maximus, in order to secure the corn-land both of the river and of the sea adjoining. The corn lately sent from Sardi-

nia, and that which the pretor Marcus Junius had bought up in Etruria, was conveyed from Ostia into these two maritime fortresses, to supply the army during the winter. Meanwhile, in addition to the misfortune sustained in Lucania, the army of volunteer slaves, who during the life of Gracchus had performed their duty with the strictest fidelity, supposing themselves at liberty by the death of their commander, forsook their standards and disbanded. Hannibal, though not inclined to neglect Capua, or to abandon his allies at such a dangerous crisis, yet, having reaped such signal advantage from the inconsiderate conduct of one Roman commander, was induced to turn his attention to an opportunity which offered of crushing another. Some deputies from Apulia informed him that Cneius Fulvius, the pretor, had at first, while engaged in the sieges of several cities of that country, which had revolted to Hannibal, acted with care and circumspection; but that afterward, in consequence of an overflow of success, both himself and his men being glutted with booty, had so entirely given themselves up to licentiousness, that they neglected all military discipline. Wherefore, having on many other occasions, and particularly a few days before, learned from experience how little formidable an army was when under an unskilful commander, he marched away into Apulia.

21. Fulvius and the Roman legions lay near Herdonia, where intelligence no sooner arrived that the enemy was approaching, than the troops were very near snatching up their standards, and marching out to battle without the pretor's orders; and the suffering themselves to be restrained was owing to the opinion entertained by them that they might act as they chose. During the following night Hannibal, who had learned the disorder in their camp, and that most of them, calling the whole to arms, had presumptuously insisted on their commander's giving the signal, concluded with certainty that he should now have an opportunity of fighting with advantage. He posted in the houses all around, and in the woods and thickets, three thousand light-armed soldiers, who, on notice given, were suddenly to quit their concealments; at the same time ordering Mago, with about two thousand horsemen, to secure all the passes on that side to which he supposed the enemy would direct their flight. Having made these preparatory dispositions during the night, at the first dawn of day he led out his forces to the field: nor did Fulvius decline the challenge, though not so much led by any hope conceived by himself as forcibly drawn by the blind impetuosity of his men. The line was therefore formed with the same inconsiderate hurry with which they came out of the camp. just as the humour of the soldiers directed; for

each, as he happened to come up, took whatever post he liked, and afterward, either as whim or fear directed, forsook that post. The first legion and the left wing were drawn up in front, extending the line in length; and, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of the tribunes, that it was not deep enough to have any strength or firmness, and that the enemy would break through wherever they attacked, so far were they from paying attention, that they would not even listen to any wholesome advice. Hannibal now came up, a commander of a very different character, and with an array neither of a like kind nor marshalled in like manner. The Romans consequently withstood not their first attack. Their commander, in folly and rashness equal to Centenius, but far his inferior in spirit, as soon as he saw the matter going against him, and his men in confusion, hastily mounted his horse, and fled with about two hundred horsemen. The rest of the troops, vanquished in front, and surrounded on the flanks and rear, were put to the sword in such a manner, that out of eighteen thousand men, not more than two thousand escaped. The camp fell into the enemy's hands.

22. The news of these defeats, happening so quickly after one another, being brought to Rome, filled the minds of the public with much grief and consternation. However, as the consuls were hitherto successful in their operations in the quarter where the principal stress of the war lay, the alarm occasioned by these misfortunes was the less. The senate despatched Caius Lætorius and Marcus Metilius deputies to the consuls, with directions that they should carefully collect the remains of the two armies, and use their endeavours to prevent them from surrendering to the enemy through fear and despair, as had been the case after the defeat at Cannæ; and that they should make search for the deserters from the army of the volunteer slaves. The same charge was given to Publius Cornelius, who was also employed to raise recruits; and he caused proclamation to be made at all the fairs and markets, that the slaves in question should be searched for, and brought back to their standards. All this was executed with the strictest care. Appius Claudius, the consul, after fixing Decius Junius in the command at the mouth of the Volturnus, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, with orders, that when any ships should arrive from Etruria and Sardinia, to send off the corn directly to the camp, went back himself to Capua, where he found his colleague Quintus Fulvius busy in bringing in supplies of all kinds from Casitnum, and making every preparation for prosecuting the siege of Capua. They then joined in forming the siege, and also sent for Claudius Nero, the pretor, from the Claudian camp at Suessula; who, leaving behind

a small garrison to keep possession of the post, marched down with all the rest of his forces to Capua. Thus there were three pretorian pavilions erected round that city; and the three armies, commencing their operations in different quarters, proceeded to enclose it with a rampart and trench, erecting forts at moderate distances; so that when the Campanians attempted to obstruct their works, they fought them in several places at once with such success, that at last the besieged confined themselves within their walls and gates. However, before these works were carried quite round, the townsmen sent deputies to Hannibal, to complain of his abandoning Capua, and delivering it in a manner into the hands of the Romans; and to beseech him, now at least, when they were not only invested, but even pent up, to bring them relief. The consuls received a letter from Publius Cornelius the pretor, that "before they completed the circumvallation of Capua they should give leave to such of the Campanians as chose it to retire from the town, and carry away their effects with them: that as many as withdrew before the ides of March, should enjoy their liberty and their property entire; but that both those who withdrew after that day, and those who remained in the place, should be treated as enemies." This notice was accordingly given to the Campanians, who received it with such scorn, that they answered with reproaches, and even menaces. Hannibal had led his legions from Herdonia to Tarentum, in hopes that, either by force or stratagem, he might gain possession of the citadel of that town; but being disappointed therein, he turned his route towards Brundisium, which he expected would be betrayed to him. While he was wasting time here, also to no purpose, the deputies from Capua came to him, bringing at the same time their complaints, and entreaties for succour. To these Hannibal answered in an arrogant style, that he had before raised the siege of their town, and that the consuls would not now wait his coming. With this encouragement the deputies were dismissed, and with difficulty made their way back into the city, which was by this time surrounded with a double trench and a rampart.

23. At the very time when the circumvallation of Capua was going on, the siege of Syracuse came to a conclusion, having been forwarded not only by the vigour and spirit of the besieging general and his army; but also by treachery within: for in the beginning of the spring, Marcellus had deliberated some time whether he should turn his arms against Himilco and Hippocrates, who were at Agrigentum, or stay and press forward the siege of Syracuse, though he saw that the city could neither be reduced by force, as being from its situation impregnable by land or sea, nor by famine,

as supplies from Carthage had almost open access. Nevertheless, that he might leave no expedient untried, he had en-joined some deserters from Syracuse,—many of whom of the highest rank were then in the Roman camp, having been banished when the defection from the Romans took place, on account of their disapprobation of the design of changing sides,—to confer with persons of their own way of thinking, to sound the temper of the people, and to give them solemn assurances, that if the city were delivered into his hands they should live free under their own laws. There was no opportunity of conversing on the subject, because the great number of persons suspected of disaffection had made every one attentive and vigilant to prevent any such attempt passing unobserved. A single slave belonging to some of the exiles was sent as a deserter into the city; and he, communicating the business to a few, opened a way for negotiation of the kind. After this, some few getting into a fishing-boat, and concealing themselves under the nets, were carried round in this manner to the Roman camp, where they held conferences with the deserters; and the same was done frequently, in the same manner, by several other parties: at last the number amounted to eighty, and their plot was now ripe for execution, when a person called Attalus, offended that some part of the business had been concealed from him, discovered their design to Epicydes, and they were all put to death with torture. This project, thus rendered abortive, was soon succeeded by another: one Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, being sent from Syracuse to King Philip, had been taken prisoner by the Roman fleet: Epicydes earnestly wished to ransom him in particular, and from this Marcellus was not averse; for the Romans, even at that time, were desirous of procuring the friendship of the Ætolians, with which nation the Lacedæmonians were in alliance. Some persons were accordingly deputed to treat for his release, and the place judged the most central and convenient to both parties was at the Trogilian port, adjoining the tower called Galeagra. As they came several times to this spot, one of the Romans, having a near view of the wall, by reckoning the stones, and estimating as far as he was able the measure of each in the face of the work, conjectured nearly as to its height; and finding it considerably lower than he or any of the rest had hitherto supposed, so that it might be scaled with ladders of even a moderate length, he represented the matter to Marcellus. The information was deemed not unworthy of attention, but as that spot could not be openly approached, being, for the very reason mentioned, guarded with particular care, it was determined to wait for a favourable opportunity: this was soon found, when the means of a de-

serter, who brought intelligence that the besieged were celebrating the feast of Diana, which was to last three days; and as, in consequence of the siege, most kinds of provisions were scarce, they indulged themselves in greater quantities of wine, which Epicycles supplied to the whole body of the plebeians, and which was distributed among the tribes by the people of distinction. Marcellus, on hearing this, communicated his design to a few military tribunes; and having, by their means, selected centurions and soldiers properly qualified for an enterprise at once important and daring, he privately procured scaling-ladders, and ordered directions to be conveyed to the rest of the troops that they should take their suppers early, and go to rest, because they were to be employed on an expedition in the night. Then, at the hour when he judged that the people, who had begun to feast early in the day, would be surfeited with wine, and begin to sleep, he ordered the men of one company to proceed with their ladders, while about a thousand men in arms were with silence conducted in a slender column to the spot. The foremost having, without noise or tumult, mounted the wall, the rest followed in order, the boldness of the former giving courage even to the timorous.

24. This body of a thousand men had now gained possession of a part of the city, when the rest, bringing up greater numbers of ladders, scaled the wall, the first party having given them a signal from the Hexapylos, to which they had penetrated without meeting a single person in the streets: for the greater part of the townsmen, having feasted together in the towers, were now either overpowered by wine, and sunk in sleep; or, being half inebriated, still continued their debauch. A few of them, however, who were surprised in their beds, were put to death. Vigorous efforts were then made to force open a postern gate near the Hexapylos, and, at the same time, the signal agreed on was returned from the wall by a trumpet. And now the attack was carried on in all quarters, not secretly, but with open force; for they had reached the Epipolæ, where there were great numbers of guards stationed, and it became requisite not to elude the notice of the enemy, but to terrify them; and terrified they were; for, as soon as the sound of the trumpet was heard, and the shouts of the troops who had mastered part of the city, the guards thought that the whole was taken, and some of them fled along the wall, others leaped down from the ramparts, and crowds, flying in dismay, were tumbled headlong. A great part of the townsmen, however, were still ignorant of the misfortune which had befallen them, being all of them overpowered with wine and sleep; and in a city of such vast extent, what happened in any one

quarter could not be very readily known in all the rest. A little before day, a gate of the Hexapylos being forced, Marcellus, with all his troops, entered the city. This roused the townsmen, who betook themselves to arms, endeavouring, if possible, to preserve the place. Epicycles hastily led out some troops from the island called Nasos, not doubting but he should be able to drive out what he conjectured to be a small party, and which he supposed had found entrance through the negligence of the guards, telling the affrighted fugitives whom he met that they were adding to the tumult, and that they represented matters greater and more terrible than they were. But when he saw every place round the Epipolæ filled with armed men, he waited only to discharge a few missive weapons, and marched back into the Achradina, dreading not so much the number and strength of the enemy, as that some treachery might, on such an opportunity, take place within, and that he might find the gates of the Achradina and the island shut against him. When Marcellus entered the gate, and had from the high grounds a full view of the city, the most beautiful perhaps of any in those times, he is said to have shed tears, partly out of joy at having accomplished an enterprise of such importance, and partly from the sensations excited by reflecting on the high degree of renown which the place had enjoyed through a long series of years. Memory presented to him the Athenian fleet sunk there; two vast armies cut off, with two generals of the highest reputation; the many wars maintained against the Carthaginians with such equality of success; the great number of powerful tyrants and kings, especially Hiero, whom all remembered very lately reigning, and who, besides all the distinctions which his own merit and good fortune conferred on him, was highly remarkable for his zealous friendship to the Roman people; when all these reflections occurred to his mind, and were followed by the consideration that every object then under his view would quickly be in flames, and reduced to ashes,—thus reflecting, before he advanced to attack the Achradina he sent forward some Syracusans, who, as has been mentioned, were within the Roman quarters, to try if they could, by mild persuasions, prevail on the Syracusans to surrender the town.

25. The fortifications of the Achradina were occupied by deserters, who could have no hope of a pardon in case of a capitulation; these, therefore, would not suffer the others to come nigh the walls, nor to hold conversation with any one. Marcellus, finding that no opportunity could offer of effecting any thing by persuasion, ordered his troops to move back to the Euryalus. This is an eminent point at the verge of the

city, on the side most remote from the sea, commanding the road which leads into the country and the interior parts of the island, and therefore very commodiously situate for securing admittance to convoys of provisions. The commander of this fortress was Philodemus, an Argive, stationed here by Epicydes. To him Sosis, one of the regicides, was sent by Marcellus with certain propositions; who, after a long conversation, being put off with evasions, brought back an account that the Argive required time for deliberation. He deferred giving any positive answer from day to day, in expectation that Hippocrates and Himileo, with their legions, would come up; and he doubted not that if he could once receive them into the fortress, the Roman army, hemmed in as it was within walls, might be effectually cut off. Marcellus, therefore, seeing no probability of the Euryalus being either surrendered or taken, encamped between Neapolis and Tycha, parts of the city so named, and in themselves equal to cities; for he feared lest, if he went into the more populous parts, the greedy soldiers might not, by any means, be restrained from pillaging. Hither came deputies from the Neapolis and the Tycha, with fillets and other badges of supplicants, praying him to spare the lives of the inhabitants, and to refrain from burning their houses. On the subject of these petitions, offered in the form of prayers rather than of demands, Marcellus held a council; and, according to the unanimous determination of all present, published orders to the soldiers, "to offer no violation to any person of free condition, but that they might seize every thing else as spoil." The walls of the houses surrounding his camp served it as a fortification, and, at the gates facing the wide streets, he posted guards and detachments of troops, to prevent any attack on it while the soldiers should be in search of plunder. On a signal given, the men dispersed themselves for that purpose; and, though they broke open doors, and filled every place with terror and tumult, yet they refrained from bloodshed, but put no stop to their ravages until they had removed all the valuable effects which had been amassed there in a long course of prosperous fortune. Meanwhile, Philodemus, seeing no prospect of relief, and receiving assurances that he might return to Epicydes in safety, withdrew the garrison, and delivered up the fortress to the Romans. While the attention of all was turned to the commotion in that part of the city which was taken, Bomilcar, taking advantage of a stormy night, when the violence of the weather would not allow the Roman fleet to ride at anchor in the deep, slipped out of the harbour of Syracuse with thirty-five ships, and finding the sea open, sailed forth into the main, leaving fifty-five ships to Epicydes and the Syracusans. After in-

forming the Carthaginians of the perilous state of affairs in Syracuse, he returned thither in a few days with a hundred ships, when he received, as is said, many valuable presents from Epicydes, out of the treasure of Hiero.

26. Marcellus, by gaining possession of the Euryalus, and putting a garrison into it, was freed from one cause of anxiety; for he had apprehended that a body of the enemy's forces might get into that fortress on his rear, and thence annoy his troops, pent up as they were, and entangled among walls. He then invested the Achradina, forming three camps in proper situations, in hopes, by a close blockade, of reducing it by a want of necessaries. The out-guards, on both sides, had been quiet for several days, when Hippocrates and Himilco suddenly arrived; and the consequence was an attack on the Romans in different quarters at once; for Hippocrates, having fortified a camp at the great harbour, and given a signal to the garrison in the Achradina, fell on the old camp of the Romans, where Crispinus commanded; and, at the same time, Epicydes sallied out against the ports of Marcellus, while the Carthaginian fleet warped in close to the shore, which lay between the city and the Roman station, in order to prevent any succour being sent by Marcellus to Crispinus. Their attacks, however, caused more alarm than real injury; for Crispinus, on his part, not only repulsed Hippocrates from his works, but made him fly with precipitation; and pursued him to some distance: and, in the other quarter, Marcellus beat back Epicydes into the town. It was even supposed that enough was now done to prevent any danger in future, from their making sudden sallies. To other evils attendant on the siege, was added a pestilence; a calamity felt by both parties, and fully sufficient to divert their thoughts from plans of military operations. It was now autumn; the places where they lay were in their nature unwholesome, but much more so on the outside of the city than within; and the heat was so intense, as to impair the health of almost every person in both the camps. At first, the insalubrity of the season and the soil produced both sicknesses and deaths; afterward, the attendance on the diseased, and the handling of them, spread the contagion wide; insomuch, that all who were seized by it either died neglected and forsaken, or, also infecting such as ventured to take care of them, these were carried off also. Scarcely any thing was seen but funerals; and, both day and night, lamentations from every side rang in their ears. At last, habituated to these scenes of woe, they contracted such savageness, that, so far from attending the deceased with tears and sorrowings, they would not even carry them out and inter them, so that they lay scattered over the ground in the view of all

and who were in constant expectation of a similar fate. Thus the dead contributed to the destruction of the sick, and the sick to that of the healthy, both by the apprehensions which they excited, and by the contagion and noisome stench of their bodies; while some, wishing rather to die by the sword, singly assailed the enemy's posts. But the distemper raged with much greater fury in the Carthaginian camp than in that of the Romans; for the latter, by lying so long before Syracuse, were become more hardened against the air and the rains. Of the enemy's troops, the Sicilians, as soon as they saw that the spreading of the distemper was owing to an unhealthy situation, left it, and retired to the several cities in the neighbourhood, which were of their party; but the Carthaginians, who had no place of retreat, perished, together with their commanders, Hippocrates and Himilco, to a man. Marcellus, when he perceived the violence of the disorder increasing, had removed his troops into the city, where, being comfortably lodged and sheltered from the inclemency of the air, their impaired constitutions were soon restored; nevertheless, great numbers of the Roman soldiers were swept away by this pestilence.

27. The land forces of the Carthaginians being thus entirely destroyed, the Sicilians, who had served under Hippocrates, collected from their several states stores of provisions, which they deposited in two towns, of no great size, but well secured by strong situations and fortifications; one three miles distant from Syracuse, the other five; and, at the same time, they solicited succours. Meanwhile Bomilcar, going back again to Carthage with his fleet, gave such a representation of the condition of the allies as afforded hopes that it might be practicable, not only to succour them in such a manner as would ensure their safety, but also to make prisoners of the Romans in the very city which they had, in a manner, reduced; and by this means he prevailed on the government to send with him as many transport vessels as could be procured, laden with stores of every kind, and to make an addition to his own fleet. Accordingly he set sail with a hundred and thirty ships of-war, and seven hundred transports, and met with a wind very favourable for his passage to Sicily, but the same wind prevented his doubling Cape Pachynum. The news of Bomilcar's arrival first, and afterward his unexpected delay, gave joy and grief alternately both to the Romans and Syracusans. But Epicydes, dreading lest, if the same easterly wind which then prevailed should continue to blow for some days longer, the Carthaginian fleet might sail back to Africa, delivered the command of the Achradina to the generals of the mercenaries, and sailed away to Bomilcar. Him he found lying to, with the

heads of his vessels turned towards Africa, being fearful of an engagement with the enemy, not on account of any superiority in their strength or number of ships, (for his own was the greater,) but because the wind was the more advantageous to the Roman fleet. With difficulty, then, he prevailed on him to consent to try the issue of a naval engagement. On the other side, Marcellus, seeing that an army of Sicilians was assembling from all quarters of the island, and that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching with abundance of supplies, began to fear, lest, if he should be shut up in a hostile city, and that every passage being barred both by land and sea, he should be reduced to great distress. Although unequal to the enemy in number of ships, he yet determined to oppose Bomilcar's passage to Syracuse. The two hostile fleets lay off the promontory of Pachynum, ready to engage as soon as moderate weather should allow them to sail out into the main. On the subsiding of the easterly wind, which had blown furiously for several days, Bomilcar first put his fleet in motion, and his van seemed to make out to sea with intent to clear the Cape; but, when he saw the Roman bearing down on him, and being suddenly alarmed, from what circumstance is not known, he bore away to sea, and sending messengers to Heraclea, ordering the transports to return to Africa, he sailed along the coast of Sicily to Tarentum. Epicydes, thus disappointed in a measure from which he had conceived very sanguine hopes, and unwilling to go back into the besieged city, whereof a great part was already in possession of the enemy, sailed to Agrigentum, where he proposed rather to wait the issue of affairs than to attempt any new enterprise.

28. When the Sicilians in camp were informed of all these events, (that Epicydes had withdrawn from Syracuse, that the Carthaginians had abandoned the island, and, in a manner, surrendered it a second time to the Romans,) they demanded a conference with those who were shut up in the town, and learning their inclinations, they sent deputies to Marcellus to treat about terms of capitulation. There was scarcely any debate about the conditions, which were,—that whatever parts of the country had been under the dominion of the kings, should be ceded to the Romans; and the rest, together with independence, and their own laws, should be guarantied to the Sicilians. Then the deputies invited the persons intrusted with the command by Epicydes to a meeting, and told them that they had been sent by the Sicilian army to them as well as to Marcellus, in order that those within the city, as well as those without, should all share one fortune, and that neither should stipulate any article separately for themselves. From these they obtained per-

mission to enter the place, and converse with their relations and friends, to whom they recited the terms which they had already adjusted with Marcellus: and, by the prospect of safety which they held out to their view, prevailed on them to unite in an attack on Epicydes' generals, Polyclitus, Philistio, and Epicydes, surnamed Syndos. These they put to death, and then calling the multitude to an assembly, and lamenting the famine they had undergone, insisted that "notwithstanding they were pressed by so many calamities, yet they had no reason to complain of fortune, because it was in their own power to determine how long they would endure their sufferings. The reason which induced the Romans to besiege Syracuse was, affection to its inhabitants, not enmity: for when they heard that the government was seized on by the partisans of Hannibal, and afterward by those of Hieronymus, Hippocrates, and Epicydes, they then took arms, and laid siege to the city, with the purpose of subduing, not the city itself, but those who cruelly tyrannized over it. But after Hippocrates had been carried off, Epicydes excluded from Syracuse, his generals put to death, and the Carthaginians expelled, and unable to maintain any kind of footing in Sicily, either by fleets or armies, what reason could the Romans then have for not wishing the safety of Syracuse, as much as if Hiero himself, so singularly attached to the Roman interest, were still alive? Neither the city, therefore, nor the inhabitants, stood in any other danger than what they might bring on themselves, by neglecting an opportunity of reconciliation with the Romans: but such another opportunity they never could have, as that which presented itself at that instant, on its being once known that they were delivered from their insolent tyrants."

29. This discourse was listened to with universal approbation; but it was resolved that, before any deputies should be appointed, pretors should be elected: and then some of the pretors themselves were sent deputies to Marcellus. The person at the head of the commission addressed him to this effect: "Neither was the revolt, at the beginning, the act of us Syracusans, but of Hieronymus, whose conduct towards you was not near so wicked as his treatment of us; nor, afterward, was it any Syracusan, but Hippocrates and Epicydes, two instruments of the late king, who, while we were distracted between fear on one side, and treachery on the other, broke through the peace established on the death of the tyrant; nor can any period be named, in which we were at liberty, and were not at the same time in friendship with you. At present it is manifest that as soon as ever, by the death of those who held Syracuse in bondage, we became our own masters, we have come, without a moment's hesitation, to

deliver up our arms, to surrender ourselves, our city, and fortifications, and to refuse no conditions which you shall think fit to impose. Marcellus, the gods have given you the glory of taking the most renowned and most beautiful of all the Grecian cities; whatever memorable exploits we have at any time performed, either on land or sea, all will go to augment the splendour of your triumph. Let it not be your wish that men shall learn from tradition how great a city you have reduced, but rather, that the city itself may stand a monument to posterity, exhibiting to the view of every one who shall approach it, by land or by sea, our trophies over the Athenians and Carthaginians; then, yours over us; and that you may transmit Syracuse unimpaired to your family, to be kept under the patronage and guardianship of the race of Marcelli. Let not the memory of Hieronymus weigh more with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy; and, besides, you have felt many effects of the kindness of the one, while the other's madness tended only to his own ruin." From the Romans all their requests were easily obtained, and their safety ran no hazard from that quarter: there was more danger from a hostile disposition among themselves; for the deserters, apprehending that they were to be delivered up to the Romans, brought the auxiliary troops of mercenaries to entertain the same fears. Hastily taking arms, they first slew the pretors; then, spreading themselves over the city, put to death in their rage every person whom chance threw in their way, pillaging every thing on which they could lay hands. Afterward, that they might not be without leaders, they created six prefects, three to command in the Achradina, and three in the island. The tumult at length subsiding, the mercenaries discovered, on inquiry, the purport of the articles concluded on with Marcellus, and then began to see clearly, what was really the case, that their situation was widely different from that of the deserters. Very seasonably the deputies returned at this time from Marcellus, and assured them that the suspicion which had provoked their fury was groundless, and that the Romans had no kind of reason to demand their punishment.

30. One of the three commanders in the Achradina was a Spaniard, by name Mericus. To sound him, a Spanish auxiliary in the camp of the Romans was purposely sent in the train of the deputies; who, taking an opportunity when he found Mericus alone, first informed him in what state he had left the affairs of Spain, from whence he had lately come; that "every thing there was under subjection to the Roman arms;" and added, "that it was in his power, by some service of importance, to become distinguished among his

countrymen, whether it were that he chose to accept a commission in the Roman army, or to return to his native country. On the other hand, if he persisted in attempting to hold out the siege, what hope could he entertain, when he was so closely invested both by sea and land ?" Mericus was so much affected by these arguments, that, when it was determined to send deputies to Marcellus, he appointed, as one of them, his own brother, who, being conducted by the same Spaniard to a secret interview with Marcellus, and having received satisfactory assurances from him, and concerted the method of conducting the business they had planned, returned to the Achradina. Then Mericus, with design to prevent all suspicion of treachery, declared, that "he did not approve of deputies thus going backward and forward; that none such ought to be received or sent; and that the guard might be kept with the stricter care, the proper posts ought to be divided among the prefects, so that each should be answerable for the safety of his own quarter." Every one approved of this division of the posts; and the tract which fell to his own lot was that from the fountain Arethusa to the mouth of the great harbour: of this he apprized the Romans. Marcellus therefore gave orders that a transport ship, full of soldiers, should be towed in the night, by the barge of a quadrireme, to the Achradina; and that they should be landed opposite to the gate which is near the said fountain. This being executed at the fourth watch, and Mericus having, according to concert, admitted the soldiers into the gate, Marcellus, at the first light, assaulted the walls of the Achradina with all his forces, by which means he not only engaged the attention of those who guarded it, but caused several battalions to flock thither from the island, quitting their own posts to repel the furious assault of the Romans. While this alarm was at the height, some light galleys, prepared beforehand, sailed round, and landed a body of troops on the island; and these, making an unexpected attack on the half-manned posts, and the open gate, without much difficulty made themselves masters of the island; for it was abandoned to them by the garrison, who fled in consternation. The deserters maintained their ground with no more steadiness than these; for, being diffident in some degree even of each other, they betook themselves to flight during the heat of the conflict. When Marcellus learned that the island was taken, that one quarter of the Achradina was in possession of his troops, and that Mericus had joined them with the party under his command, he sounded a retreat, lest the royal treasure, which fame represented much larger than it was, should be rifled by the soldiers.

31. The impetuosity of the soldiers being restrained, the

deserters in the Achradina found time and opportunity to escape. The Syracusans at length delivered from their fears, opened the gates of the fortress, and sent an humble deputation to Marcellus, asking nothing more than their own lives, and those of their children. Marcellus summoned a council, to which he likewise invited those Syracusans who, having been driven from home in consequence of the disturbances in the city, had remained in the Roman quarters; and he gave the deputies this answer, that "the friendly acts of Hiero, through a space of fifty years, were not more in number than the injuries committed against the Roman people within a few years past by those who were in possession of Syracuse. But most of these had recoiled on the heads where they ought to fall; and those people had inflicted on each other much more severe punishments for their infraction of treaties than the Romans would have wished. That he had, indeed, laid siege to Syracuse, and prosecuted it through the last three years, not with design that the Roman people might keep that state in servitude to themselves, but that the leaders of the deserters might not hold it under captivity and oppression. What part the Syracusans might have acted for the promoting of this design was manifested from those of their countrymen who were within the Roman quarters; from the conduct of the Spanish general Maricus, who surrendered the quarter under his command; and from the late, indeed, but resolute measure adopted by themselves. That the advantages accruing to him, from all the toils and dangers by sea and land, which he had undergone through such a length of time under the Syracusan walls, were by no means equal to what Syracuse might have procured to itself." The questor was then sent with a guard to the island, to receive and secure the royal treasure; and the city was given up to the troops to be plundered, sentinels being first placed at the several houses of those who had stayed in the Roman quarters. While numberless horrid acts of rage and of avarice were perpetrated, it is related that in the violence of the tumult, which was as great as greedy soldiers ever caused in sacking a captured city, Archimedes, while intent on some geometrical figures which he had drawn in the sand, was slain by a soldier who knew not who he was; that Marcellus lamented his death, and gave him an honourable funeral; and that inquiry was also made for his relations, to whom his name and memory proved a protection and an honour. In this manner nearly was Syracuse taken, and in it such a quantity of booty, as Carthage, which waged an equal contest with Rome, would scarcely have afforded at that time. A few days before the conquest of Syracuse, Titus Otacilius,

with eighty quinqueremes, sailed over from Lilybæum to Utica, and entering the harbour before day, seized a number of transports laden with corn; he then landed his troops, ravaged a great part of the country round the city, and brought back to his fleet much booty of all kinds. He sent off their cargoes immediately to Syracuse, where, if this supply had not arrived so seasonably, both the conquerors and the vanquished were threatened alike with a destructive famine.

32. As to the affairs of Spain, near two years had passed without any thing very material being done, and the business of the war consisted rather in scheming than in acting; but now the Roman generals, quitting their winter-quarters, united their forces, and a council being held, all concurred in opinion, that since their sole object had hitherto been to detain Hasdrubal from the prosecution of his intended march into Italy, it was now time to think of an end to the war in Spain; and they trusted that their strength was rendered adequate to the undertaking by the addition of thirty thousand Celtiberians, whom they had during the preceding winter engaged to join their arms. There were three armies of the enemy: one under Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and another under Mago, were encamped together at the distance of about five days' march. The third lay nearer, and was commanded by Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, the oldest general in Spain, who was posted near a city named Anitorgis. Him the Roman general wished to overpower first, and they were confident that their strength was abundantly sufficient to effect it: their only concern was, lest Hasdrubal and Mago, dispirited by his retreat, might retire into the inaccessible forests and mountains, and thus protract the war. They therefore concluded that it would be most advisable, by separating their forces, to extend the compass of their operations, so as to comprehend the whole war at once. Accordingly they divided them in such a manner, that Publius Cornelius was to lead two thirds of the Romans and allies against Mago and Hasdrubal; and Cneius Cornelius, with the other third of the veteran troops, and the Celtiberian auxiliaries, was to act against the Barcine Hasdrubal. The commanders began their march together, the Celtiberians advancing before them, and pitched their camp near the city of Anitorgis, within view of the enemy, from whom they were separated by a river. There Cneius Scipio, with the forces before mentioned, halted, and Publius Scipio proceeded according to his allotment to the scene of action.

33. When Hasdrubal observed that there were but few Roman soldiers in the camp, and that all their dependance was on the Celtiberian auxiliaries, being well-acquainted

with the perfidious disposition of every barbarous nation, and particularly of these, among whom he had waged war for so many years, he contrived secret conferences with their leaders; for as both camps were full of Spaniards, an intercourse was easy; and with whom he concluded a bargain, that for a valuable consideration they should carry away their troops. Nor did this appear to them a heinous crime; for it was not required that they should turn their arms against the Romans, and the hire given for not fighting was as great as could be expected for fighting: besides, rest from fatigue, the returning to their homes, and the pleasure of seeing their friends and families, all these were matters highly agreeable to them, so that the chiefs were not more easily persuaded than were their followers. It was further considered, that they need not fear the Romans, whose number was small, even if they should attempt to detain them by force. It will ever, indeed, be incumbent on Roman generals to avoid carefully such kind of mistakes, and to consider instances like this as powerful warnings, never to confide so far in foreign auxiliaries, as not to keep in their camps a superior force of their native troops, and of their own proper strength. The Celtiberians on a sudden took up their standards and marched off, giving no other answer to the Romans (who besought them to stay) than that they were called away by a war at home. When Scipio saw that it was impossible to detain the auxiliaries either by entreaties or force; that without them he was unable either to cope with the enemy, or effect a reunion with his brother; and that there was no other resource at hand from which he could hope for safety, he resolved to retreat as far back as possible, avoiding with the utmost caution any encounter with the enemy on equal ground;—for they had crossed the river, and followed almost at the heels of his retreating troops.

34. At the same time Publius Scipio was surrounded with equal fears, and greater danger, occasioned by a new enemy; this was young Masinissa, at that time an ally of the Carthaginians, afterward rendered illustrious and powerful by the friendship of the Romans. He with his Numidian cavalry met Publius Scipio as he approached, harassing him incessantly night and day. Not only were stragglers, who went to a distance from the camp for wood and forage intercepted by him, but he would even ride up to the very intrenchments, and often charging into the midst of the advance guards, fill every quarter with the utmost confusion. In the night-time also, by sudden attacks, he frequently caused terror and alarm at the gates and any place, or any time, afford the Romans respite from fear and anxiety, confined as they were within their trenches, and

debarred from procuring every kind of necessary, suffering almost a regular blockade; and which they knew would be still more close, if Indibilis, who was said to be approaching with seven thousand five hundred Suessetanians, should join the Carthaginians. Impelled by the inextricable difficulties of his situation, Scipio, heretofore a commander of known caution and prudence, adopted the rash resolution of going out by night to meet Indibilis, and to fight him. Accordingly, leaving a small guard in the camp under the command of Titus Fonteius, lieutenant-general, he marched out at midnight, and falling in with the enemy, began an engagement. The troops encountered each other in the order of march rather than of battle: however, irregular as the manner of fighting was, the Romans had the advantage. But on a sudden the Numidian cavalry, whose observation the general thought he had escaped, falling on his flanks, struck great terror into the troops; and while they had this new contest to maintain, a third enemy fell on them, the Carthaginian generals coming up with their rear during the heat of battle. Thus the Romans were assailed on every side, unable to judge against which enemy they might best direct their united strength, in order to force a passage. While their commander fought and encouraged his men, exposing himself to every danger, he was run through the right side with a lance. The party who made the attack on the band collected about the general, when they saw Scipio fall lifeless from his horse, being elated with joy, ran shouting up and down through the whole line, crying out that the Roman commander was killed; which words clearly determined the battle in favour of the enemy. The latter, immediately on losing their general, began to fly from the field; but though they might have found no great difficulty in forcing their way through the Numidians and the other light-armed auxiliaries, yet it was scarce possible that they should escape from such a multitude of cavalry, and of footmen who were nearly equal to the horses in speed. Accordingly, almost as many fell in the flight as in the battle; nor probably would one have survived had not the night stopped the pursuit, it being by this time late in the evening.

35. The Carthaginian generals were not remiss in making advantage of their good fortune: without losing time after the battle, and scarcely allowing the soldiers necessary rest, they marched away with rapid haste to Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, confidently assured, that after uniting their forces with his, they should be able to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. On their arrival at his camp, the warmest congratulations passed between the commanders and the armies, overjoyed at their late successes, in which so great a general,

with his whole army, had been cut off, and they expected, as a matter of certainty, another victory equally important. Not even a rumour of this great misfortune had yet reached the Romans; but there prevailed among them a melancholy kind of silence, and a tacit foreboding; such a presage of impending evil as the mind is apt to feel when looking forward with anxiety. Cornelius, after the desertion of the auxiliaries, had nothing to dispirit him except the augmentation which he observed in the enemy's force, yet was he led by conjectures and reasoning, rather to entertain a suspicion of some disaster, than any favourable hopes. "For how," said he, "could Hasdrubal and Mago, unless decisively victorious in their own province, bring hither their army without opposition? And how could it happen that Publius had neither opposed their march, nor followed on their rear, in order that if he found it impracticable to prevent the junction of the enemy's armies, he might in any case unite his forces with those of his brother." Distracted with these perplexing thoughts, he could see no other means of safety at present than by retreating as fast as possible. Accordingly, in the night, and while the enemy, ignorant of his departure, remained quiet, he performed a march of considerable length. On the return of day, the enemy, perceiving that his army had decamped, sent forward the Numidians, and set out on the pursuit with all the expedition in their power. Before night the Numidians overtook them, and harassed them with attacks, sometimes on the flanks, sometimes on the rear. They then began to halt and defend themselves: but Scipio earnestly exhorted them to fight and advance at the same time, lest the enemy's infantry should overtake them.

36. But as by this method of advancing at one time, and halting at another, they made but little progress on their way, and as the night now approached, Scipio called in his men, and collecting them in a body, drew them off to a rising ground, not very safe indeed, especially for dispirited troops, yet higher than any of the surrounding grounds. Here the infantry, receiving the baggage and the cavalry into the centre, and forming a circle round them, at first repelled, without difficulty, the attacks of the Numidian skirmishers. Afterward, the three regular armies of the enemy approached with their entire force; when the general saw that without some fortification his men would never be able to maintain their post; he therefore began to look about, and consider whether he could by any means raise a rampart round it. But the hill was so bare, and the surface so rocky, that not so much as a bush was to be found which could be cut for palisades, nor earth with which to raise a

mound, nor any means of forming a trench, or any other work; nor was any part of it such as to render it of difficult approach or ascent, every side arising with a gentle acclivity. However, that they might place in the way of the enemy some resemblance of a rampart, they tied the panniers together, and building them as it were on one another, formed a mound about their post, throwing on bundles of every kind of baggage where there was a deficiency of panniers for raising it. When the Carthaginian armies came to the place, they mounted the hill with perfect ease, but were at first so surprised at this strange appearance of a fortification, that they halted, notwithstanding their officers everywhere called out and asked them, "why did they stop, and not tear down and scatter about that ridiculous work, scarcely strong enough to stop women or children?" adding, that "they now had the enemy shut up as prisoners, and hiding themselves behind their baggage." Such were their contemptuous reproofs; but it was no easy matter either to climb over, or to remove the bulky loads which lay in the way, or to cut through the panniers so closely compacted and buried under heaps of baggage. The packages which obstructed them were at length removed, and a passage open to the troops; and the same being done in several parts, the camp was forced on all sides, while the Romans, inferior in number, and dejected by misfortunes, were everywhere put to the sword by the more numerous enemy, elated with victory. However, a great number of the soldiers fled into the woods which lay at a small distance behind, and thence made their escape to the camp of Publius Scipio, where Titus Fonteius, his lieutenant-general, commanded. Cneius Scipio, according to some accounts, was killed on the hill, in the first assault: according to others, he fled into a castle standing near the camp: this was surrounded with fire, and the doors, which were too strong to be forced, being thus burned, they were taken; and all within, together with the general himself, were put to death. Cneius Scipio perished in the seventh year after his coming into Spain, the twenty-ninth day after the fall of his brother. Their deaths caused not greater grief at Rome than in every part of Spain. Nay, among their countrymen, the loss of the armies, the alienation of the province, the misfortune of the public, challenged a share of their sorrow; whereas Spain lamented and mourned for the commanders themselves, and for Cneius even more than for his brother, because he had been longer in the government of their country, had earlier engaged their affections, and was the first who gave them a specimen of the Roman justice and moderation.

37. The army was now supposed to be utterly ruined, and

Spain to be entirely lost, when one man retrieved the Roman affairs from this desperate condition: this was Lucius Marcius, son of Septimus, a Roman knight, a young man of an enterprising temper, and of a capacity which would do credit to a rank much superior to that in which he was born. These very great talents had been improved by the discipline of Cneius Scipio, under whom he had, in a course of many years, acquired a thorough knowledge of all the arts of war. Collecting the soldiers after their dispersion in the flight, and drafting others out of the garrisons, he formed an army far from contemptible, with which he joined Titus Fonteius, the lieutenant-general of Publius Scipio. Such a superior ascendancy was possessed by a Roman knight in the respect and esteem of the soldiery, that, after fortifying a camp on the hither side of the Iberus, they determined that a commander should be chosen for the two armies by the suffrages of the soldiers. On this, relieving each other successively in the guard of the rampart and other posts, until every one had given his vote, they all concurred in conferring the chief command on Lucius Marcius. The remaining time of their stay there, which was but short, was employed in strengthening the camp, and collecting provisions; the soldiers executing every order not only with diligence, but without betraying any dejection whatever. But when intelligence was brought that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was coming to crush the last remains of opposition; that he passed the Iberus, and was drawing near; and when they saw the signal of battle displayed by a new commander—then, recollecting what captains and what forces had used to support their confidence when going out to fight, they all on a sudden burst into tears, and beat their heads. Some raised their hands towards heaven, taxing the gods with cruelty; others, prostrate on the ground, invoked by name each his own former commander: nor could their lamentations be restrained by all the efforts of the centurions, or by the soothing and expostulations of Marcius himself, who asked them, “why they abandoned themselves to womanly and unavailing tears, and did not rather summon up their fiercest courage, for the common defence of themselves and the commonwealth, and for avenging their slaughtered generals?” Meanwhile, on a sudden, the shout and the sound of trumpets were heard, for the enemy were by this time near the rampart; and now their grief being instantly converted into rage, they hastily snatched up their arms, and, as if instigated by madness, ran to the gates, and made a furious attack on the forces, who were advancing in a careless and irregular manner. This unexpected reception immediately struck the Carthaginians with dismay:

they wondered whence such a number of enemies could have started up, since the almost total extinction of their force; whence the vanquished and routed derived such boldness, such confidence in themselves: what chief had arisen since the death of the two Scipios; who should command in their camp; who could have given the signal for battle? Perplexed and astonished at so many incidents, so unaccountable, they first gave way; and then, on being pushed with a vigorous onset, turned their backs: and now, either a dreadful havoc would have been made among the flying party, or the pursuers would have found their impetuosity turn out inconsiderate and dangerous to themselves, had not Marcius quickly sounded a retreat, and by stopping them in the front, and even holding back some with his own hands, repressed the fury of the troops. He then led them into the camp, with their rage for blood and slaughter still unabated. The Carthaginians at first retreated precipitately from the rampart; but when they saw that there was no pursuit, they imagined that the others had halted through fear; and then, as if holding them in contempt, they returned to their camp at an easy pace. Conformable to the same notion was their careless manner of guarding their works; for although the Romans were at hand, yet they considered them merely as the remains of the two armies vanquished a few days before; and, in consequence of this error, negligence prevailed among the Carthaginians in every particular. Marcius, having discovered this, resolved on an enterprise, at first view rather rash than bold; which was, to go and attack the enemy's post; for he considered that it would be easier to storm the camp of Hasdrubal while he stood single, than to defend his own, in case the three generals and three armies should again unite; and besides that, on one hand, should he succeed in his attempt, he would gain relief from the distresses that encompassed him, and, on the other, should he be repulsed, yet his daring to make the attack would rescue him from contempt.

38. However, lest the suddenness of the affair, and the apprehensions incident to men acting by night, might disconcert an undertaking which, at best, seemed but ill suited to his present condition, he judged it advisable to communicate his design to the soldiers, and to animate their spirits. Accordingly, being assembled, he addressed them in a speech to this effect: "Soldiers, either my dutiful affection to our late commanders, both during their lives and since their death, or the present situation of us all, might be sufficient to convince every one of you that the command with which I am invested, though highly honourable, as the gift of your judgment, is still in reality full of labour and anxie-

ty; for at the time when (only that fear benumbs the sense of grief) I should not be so far master of myself as to be able to find any consolation for our losses, I am compelled singly to study the safety of you all; a task most difficult to a mind immersed in sorrow; so much so, that while I am devising the means of preserving to our country these remnants of the two armies, I cannot, even in those moments, be wholly abstracted from it; for bitter remembrance haunts me, and the two Scipios, by day and by night, disquiet me with anxious cares and dreams, and often awake me out of sleep. They charge me not to let them or their men, (your fellow-soldiers, who, for eight years, maintained in this country a superiority in arms,) or our commonwealth, remain unrevenge'd; to follow their discipline and their maxims; and that as, during their lives, no one was more obedient to their commands than I was, so I should, after their death, ever deem that conduct the best, which I have most reason to think that they would have pursued on any emergency. I could wish, soldiers, that you, on your part, would not pay them the tribute of tears and lamentations, as if they were no longer in existence; they who live and flourish in the fame of their achievements; but that, whenever the memory of them recurs, you would go into battle as if you saw them encouraging you, and giving you the signal. Most certainly it must have been their image presenting itself to your eyes and minds that animated you yesterday to that memorable action, in which you gave the enemies a proof that the Roman race had not become extinct with the Scipios, and that the strength and valour of that nation, which was not crushed by the disaster at Cannæ, will ever rise superior to the severest inflictions of fortune. Now, after you have, from the suggestions of your own courage, braved danger with such intrepidity, I wish to try how much of the same bravery you will exert under the direction of your commander; for yesterday, when I gave the signal of retreat, on seeing you pursue the routed Carthaginians with precipitation, I did not mean to break your spirit, but to reserve it for a more glorious and more advantageous opportunity; that you might afterward, in short, and at a more favourable juncture, with full preparation, and well armed, assail your enemy unprepared, unarmed, and even buried in sleep. Nor, soldiers, did I conceive the hope of such an occasion offering, inconsiderately, and without reason, but founded it on the real state of things. Suppose any one should ask you, by what means, with your small numbers, and after suffering a defeat, you defended your camp against numerous forces elated with victory; you would surely give no other answer than that, being from these very circumstances ap-

prehensive of danger, you had strengthened your quarters on every side with works, and kept yourselves ready and prepared for action. And this is always the case: men are least secure on that side, where their situation removes the apprehension of danger; because, wherever they think care unnecessary, they will be there unguarded and open. There is no one thing which the enemy at present less apprehend, than that we, so lately blockaded and assaulted, should have the confidence to assault their camp. Let us dare, then, to do what no one will believe we dare to undertake: the very persuasion of its difficulty will make it easy to us. At the third watch of the night I will lead you thither in silence. I know, certainly, that they have not a course of watches, nor regular guards. The noise of our shout at the gates, and the first attack, will carry the camp. Then, while they are torpid with sleep, dismayed by the sudden tumult, and surprised, unarmed in their beds, let that carnage be made, from which you were vexed at your being recalled yesterday. I am aware that the enterprise must appear presumptuous; but in cases of difficulty, and when hopes are small, the most spirited counsels are the safest; because if, in the moment of opportunity, which quickly fleets away, you hesitate, even but a little, you will in vain wish for it afterward, when it is no more. They have one army in our neighbourhood, and two others at no great distance. From an immediate attack we have reason to expect success; you have already made trial of your own strength, and of theirs; but if we defer the matter, and they, on being informed of our behaviour in yesterday's irruption, cease to look on us with contempt, it is probable that all their commanders, and all their forces, will unite in one body. In that case, can we hope to be able to withstand the enemy's three generals, and three armies, whom Cneius Scipio, with his army entire, could not withstand? As our generals were ruined by the dividing of their forces, so may the enemy, while separated and divided, be overpowered. There is no other way in which we can act with effect: let us therefore wait for nothing beyond the opportunity which the next night will afford us. Retire now, with the favour of the gods; refresh yourselves with food and rest, that you may, strong and vigorous, break into the camp of the enemy with the same spirit with which you defended your own." They heard with joy this new plan proposed by their new general, which pleased them the more, on account of its daring boldness. The remainder of the day was employed in preparing their arms, and taking their victuals, and the greater part of the night was given to rest. At the fourth watch they were in motion.

39. At the distance of six miles beyond the nearest camp

lay another body of Carthaginians: between the two was a deep valley, thick set with trees. About the middle of this wood, by a stratagem worthy the genius of a Carthaginian, a Roman cohort and some cavalry were placed in concealment. The communication being thus cut off, the rest of the troops were led in silence to the nearest body of the enemy; and finding no advanced guard before the gates, or watches on the rampart, they marched in without meeting an opposer, as they would into their own camp. The charge was then sounded, and the shout raised: some killed the assailed before they were quite awake; some threw fire on the huts, which were covered with dry straw; some seized the gates to cut off their flight. The fire, the shouting, and the slaughter, altogether, so stunned and confounded the enemy's senses, that they neither could hear each other, nor think of what they should do. Unarmed, they everywhere fell in among troops of armed foes: some hastened to the gates; others, finding the passage shut, leaped over the rampart; and every one, as soon as he got out, fled directly towards the other camp. These were intercepted by the cohort and cavalry rushing out from their ambush, and were all slain to a man; and even had any escaped, the Romans, having taken the nearer camp, ran forward to the other with such rapid haste, that no one could have arrived before them with the news of the disaster. At this camp, as it lay at a greater distance from an enemy, and as many had gone out before day in quest of forage, wood, and booty, they found every thing in a still more neglected and careless state; the weapons only standing at the outposts, the men unarmed, sitting or lying on the ground, or walking about before the gates and rampart. In this unguarded situation they were attacked by the Romans, yet warm from the late fight, and flushed with victory. No opposition therefore could be given them at the entrances; within, indeed, the first shout and the tumult having brought many together from all parts of the camp, a fierce conflict arose, which would have lasted long, had not the sight of the blood on the shields of the Romans discovered to the Carthaginians the defeat of their other party, and struck them with dismay. This panic occasioned a general flight; every one, except such as the sword overtook, rushing out wherever a passage could be found. Thus, in one night and day, through the successful conduct of Lucius Marcius, were two of the Carthaginian camps taken by storm. Claudius, who translated the annals of Acilius from the Greek language into the Latin, affirms that there were thirty-seven thousand of the enemy killed, one thousand eight hundred and thirty taken, and a vast booty acquired; among which was a silver shield of a hun-

dred and thirty-eight pounds' weight, embossed with the image of the Barcine Hasdrubal. Valerius Antias says that Mago's camp only was taken, where seven thousand were killed; and that, in the other battle, when the Romans sallied out and fought Hasdrubal, ten thousand fell, and that four thousand three hundred and thirty were taken. Piso writes that Mago, having hastily pursued our troops who were retreating, five thousand of his men were killed in an ambuscade. All mention the name of the commander, Marcius, with great honour; and to his real glory they add also miraculous incidents; among others, that while he was haranguing his men a flame was seen at the top of his head, without being felt by him, to the great fright of the surrounding soldiers. It is said that, as a monument of his victory over the Carthaginians, the shield with the image of Hasdrubal, styled the Marcian, remained in the capitol until the burning of that temple. After this hostilities were suspended in Spain for a long time, both parties being unwilling, after such severe shocks given and received, to risk an action which might be wholly destructive to one or both.

40. During the time of these transactions in Spain, Marcellus having, after the taking of Syracuse, adjusted the other affairs of Sicily with such integrity and good faith as augmented not only his own glory, but likewise the majesty of the Roman people, carried off to Rome the ornaments of the city, the statues and pictures with which it abounded. These were no doubt the spoils of enemies, and acquired by the right of war, yet they first gave rise to a taste for the works of Grecian artists, and to the consequent unbounded rapacity with which all places, indiscriminately, both sacred and profane, have been plundered; and which, at last, has been exercised even against the deities of Rome, and that very temple itself, in the first instance, which was decorated by Marcellus with peculiar elegance: for, formerly, those which he dedicated near the Capuan gate were visited by foreigners on account of their exquisite ornaments, of which a very small portion remains. Supplicatory embassies came to Marcellus from almost every state in Sicily: as their cases were dissimilar, so were the terms granted them. Such as either had not revolted, or had returned into amity, before the reduction of Syracuse, were received as faithful allies, and treated with kindness; while such as, after that event, had submitted through fear, being considered as conquered, had terms dictated to them by the victor. Still, however, the Romans had remaining, at Agrigentum, some enemies far from contemptible—Epicyles and Hanno, who had been commanders in the late war, with a third and new one, sent by Hannibal in the room of Hippocrates, of a

Lybo-Phœnician race, a native of Hippon, called by his countrymen Mutines, an enterprising man, and instructed under no less a master than Hannibal himself in all the arts of war. To him Epicydes and Hanno assigned the auxiliary Numidians: with these he overran the lands of their enemies in such a manner, and was so active in visiting their allies for the purpose of securing their fidelity, and of given them succour as occasion required, that, in a short time, he filled all Sicily with his fame, and was considered as one of the principal supports of the Carthaginian party. The Carthaginian general, therefore, and the Syracusan, who had hitherto remained shut up within the walls of Agrigentum, were induced, not only by the advice of Mutines, but by confidence in their strength, to venture out of the town; and they pitched their camp on the bank of the river Himera. When Marcellus was informed of this, he instantly put his troops in motion; and sat down, at the distance of about four miles from them, to observe their motions and intentions. But Mutines left him neither room nor time for deliberation, for he crossed the river, and charged his advanced guards with such fury as to cause great terror and disorder. Next day, in a kind of regular engagement, he drove the Romans back into their fortifications. He was then called away by a mutiny of the Numidians, which broke out in the camp; and as about three hundred of them had retired to a town called Heraclea of Minos, he went thither, in order to pacify and bring them back. At his departure he is said to have recommended earnestly to the other generals not to come to an engagement with the enemy during his absence. This gave much offence to both, particularly to Hanno, who was already jealous of his reputation: "that Mutines should dictate to him; a mongrel African to a Carthaginian general, commissioned by the senate and people." He prevailed on Epicydes, who was disinclined to the measure, to consent that they should cross the river, and offer battle; alleging, that if they waited for Mutines, and the issue of the battle should prove fortunate, the honour would all be ascribed to him.

41. Marcellus, fired with indignation at the thought that he, who had beaten off from Nola, Hannibal, when elated with his victory at Cannæ, would give way to such adversaries as these, and whom he had repeatedly defeated on land and sea, ordered his men to take arms hastily, and march out to meet them. While he was arranging his troops, ten Numidians from the enemy's line came to him at full gallop, and told him that their countrymen, influenced first by the same motive which caused the mutiny, in which three hundred of their number had retired to Heraclea, and

secondly, by seeing their own commander, at the very eve of a battle, sent out of the way, by officers who wished to derogate from his merit, had resolved to remain inactive during the fight. Contrary to the insidious character of their nation, they fulfilled their promise. This added new spirits to the Romans, for the intelligence was quickly conveyed along the ranks that the enemy were forsaken by their horse, which had been considered as the most formidable part of their force. At the same time it damped the courage of the Carthaginians, who, besides seeing themselves deprived of the support of the principal part of their strength, became even apprehensive of being attacked by their own cavalry. There was therefore no great contest: the first onset decided the affair. The Numidians stood quiet on the wings during the action, and when they saw their confederates turning their backs, accompanied them only a short way on their flight; for, observing that all in confusion made towards Agrigentum, in order to avoid the hardships of a siege, they withdrew themselves into several of the neighbouring cities. Many thousands were killed, and many taken, together with eight elephants. This was the last battle fought by Marcellus in Sicily, after which he returned in triumph to Syracuse. The year was now near to a close. The Roman senate therefore decreed that Publius Cornelius, pretor, should write to the consuls at Capua, that while Hannibal was at a great distance, and no business of moment was going on there, one of them should, if they thought proper, come to Rome to elect new magistrates. On receiving the letter, the consuls settled between themselves that Claudius should hold the elections, and Fulvius remain at Capua. Claudius elected consuls Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and Publius Sulpicius Galba, son of Servius, who had not before held any curule-office. Then Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Caius Sulpicius, and Caius Calpurnius Piso, were elected pretors. The city jurisdiction fell to Piso, Sicily to Sulpicius, Apulia to Cethegus, and Sardinia to Lentulus. The present consuls were continued in command for the ensuing year.

BOOK XXVI.

CHAP. 1. THE consuls Cneius Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sulpicius Galba, as soon as they came into office, on the ides of March, (A. U. C. 541. B. C. 211,) convened the

senate in the capitol, and proposed to their consideration the state of the commonwealth, the method of conducting the war, and the disposition of the provinces and armies. Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls of the preceding year, were continued in command; the legions which they had at present were decreed to them, and an injunction added that they should not quit the siege of Capua until they had reduced the place. This was a point on which the Romans kept their attention fixed with particular solicitude, not only from resentment, for which no state ever gave juster cause, but from the consideration that a city so eminent and powerful, as it had by its revolt drawn several states into the same measure, would probably, if recovered, dispose their minds to wish for a reconciliation with the government under which they had formerly lived. Two pre-tors also, of the preceding year, were continued in command, Marcus Junius in Etruria, and Publius Sempronius in Gaul, each with the two legions which he then had. Marcus Marcellus was also continued, that he might, in quality of proconsul, finish the remainder of the war in Sicily, with the army then under his command. Directions were given him that he should take the complement requisite for completing the numbers of his troops, if that should be necessary, out of the legions which Publius Cornelius, propretor, commanded in Sicily; conditionally, however, that he should not choose any soldier from among those who had been prohibited by the senate from receiving a discharge, or returning home before the conclusion of the war. To Caius Sulpicius, whose lot was the province of Sicily, were decreed the two legions formerly commanded by Publius Cornelius, and a supply of men from the army of Cneius Fulvius, which had been shamefully defeated and put to flight, the year before, in Apulia. For the soldiers of this description, the senate had fixed the same term of service as for those concerned at Cannæ; and, as a further mark of ignominy to both, it was ordered that they should not reside during the winter in towns, nor build their winter huts nearer to any town than ten miles. To Lucius Cornelius, in Sardinia, the two legions were given which Quintus Murius had commanded; a supply of men, if requisite, the consuls were ordered to enlist. Titus Otacilius and Marcus Valerius were ordered, with the fleets and legions then under their command, to guard the coasts of Greece and Sicily. On their former station were employed fifty ships and one legion; on the latter, one hundred ships and two legions. Twenty of the former Roman legions were this year employed in the war.

2. In the beginning of the year, Marcus being laid before the senate, a letter from Lucius that assembly declared

his services highly meritorious ; but his assuming a title of honour (for, unauthorized either by order of the people or direction of the senate, he had, in addressing the senate, styled himself *propretor*) gave general offence. They deemed it "a precedent of pernicious tendency that commanders should be chosen by the troops ; and that the established privileges of assemblies, held under auspices, should be transferred to a giddy soldiery, in camps and provinces remote from the magistrates and laws." Several were of opinion that the senate should take the matter into consideration ; but it was judged more expedient to defer any notice of it until after the departure of the messengers who brought the letter from Marcius. It was agreed that an answer should be sent to him, respecting provisions and clothing for the army, saying that the senate would take care of both those matters : but it was resolved that it should not be addressed to Lucius Marcius, *propretor*, lest he should consider as determined a question which they had reserved for future discussion. After the couriers were dismissed, the first business proposed by the consuls, and which was unanimously agreed on, was, that application should be made to the plebeian tribunes to take the sense of the commons with all convenient speed, as to what person they would choose to be sent into Spain with a commission to command the army lately under Cneius Scipio. The tribunes were advised with accordingly, and the question was published for consideration : but people's thoughts were wholly engrossed by a contest on another subject : Caius Sempronius Blaesus, having instituted a prosecution against Cneius Fulvius, on account of the loss of the army in Apulia, inveighed against him continually in public harangues ; affirming that "although many commanders had, through rashness and unskilfulness, brought their armies into situations of extreme danger, yet never had any one, except Cneius Fulvius, corrupted his legions with every kind of vice before he exposed them to destruction ; so that it might be said with truth that their ruin was effected before they had even seen an enemy ; and that they were vanquished, not by Hannibal, but by their own commander. No elector could too carefully scrutinize the character of the person to whom he was intrusting an army. What a difference between this man and Tiberius Sempronius ! The latter, though the army committed to him consisted of slaves, yet, by proper discipline and wise regulations, had quickly improved them to such a degree, that, in the field of battle, not one of them evinced by his conduct either his condition or his birth ; and they became a safeguard to the allies, a terror to the enemy. They snatched, as it were, out of Hannibal's grasp, and restored to the Roman people, the

cities of Cumæ, Beneventum, and several others; whereas Cneius Fulvius, having received an army of Roman citizens, honourably born and liberally educated, had debauched them by all the low vices of slaves, and sunk them into such a state of degeneracy, that they were insolent and turbulent among the allies, spiritless and dastardly among foes; and so far from withstanding the attack of the Carthaginians, they withstood not even their shout. Nor, indeed, was it wonderful that the soldiers did not stand their ground in battle, when their commander was the first who fled. For his part, he rather wondered that any of them had fallen in their posts, and that they did not, one and all, accompany Cneius Fulvius in his panic and flight. Caius Flaminius, Lucius Paulus, Lucius Postumius, Cneius and Publius Scipio, had chosen rather to fall in fight, than to abandon their troops in a desperate situation. But Cneius Fulvius was almost the only messenger who brought to Rome the news of his army being cut off. It was contrary," he said, "to every rule of honour and equity that the troops engaged at Cannæ, because they fled out of the field, should be transported into Sicily, and prohibited from returning thence before the termination of the war in Italy, and that a decree to the same purport should have been lately passed in the case of the legions under the command of Cneius Fulvius, while Cneius Fulvius himself, after running away from a battle brought on by his own temerity, should escape all punishment; that he should spend his old age where he had spent his youth, in the stews and brothels, while his soldiers, who were no otherwise culpable than in resembling their commander, were cast out in a manner into exile, condemned to a service of ignominy. So unequal was the dispensation of liberty at Rome to the rich and to the poor; to the man who had arrived at honours, and to those who still continued in obscurity."

3. Fulvius endeavoured to transfer the guilt from himself to the soldiers; asserting, that "in consequence of their insisting violently on fighting, they were led out to the field, not on the same day on which they desired it, because it was then evening, but on the day following, when both the time and the ground were favourable to them; but that they were so overawed, either by the reputation or the strength of the enemy, that they did not make a stand: that, in the hurry of the general flight, he was carried away by the crowd, as had been the case of Varro at the battle of Cannæ, and of many other generals. And how could he, by his single resistance, serve the cause of the commonwealth; unless, indeed, his death were considered as a remedy for the public misfortunes? He had not been brought into any dangerous situation by want of provisions, or by want of caution; neither

was he, in consequence of marching unguardedly, surprised by an ambuscade, but defeated by open force, by dint of arms, in a fair engagement; nor had he the power of determining the degree of courage to be exerted either by his own men or by the enemy: every man's own disposition supplied either courage or cowardice." The matter came twice to a hearing, and, at both times, the penalty was laid at a fine. At the third hearing witnesses were produced; and, besides his being loaded with charges of the most scandalous nature, great numbers deposed on oath that the pretor was the first who showed any symptoms of fear, and began the flight; and that the soldiers, being abandoned by him, and supposing that the general's fears were not without grounds, fled likewise: on which the anger of the people was inflamed to such a pitch, that the whole assembly cried out that the prosecution ought to be capital. On this point a new contest arose; for as the tribune had on two former occasions prosecuted the offence as finable, and at a third proposed to prosecute it as capital, an appeal was made to the tribunes of the commons. They declared that "they could not debar their colleague from prosecuting, as, by the practice of former times, he had a right to do, either on the written laws or the general practice, until he should obtain judgment, either of capital punishment or a fine, against the defendant, a private person." Then Sempronius gave notice, that he demanded judgment of treason against Cneius Fulvius; and he made a requisition to the city pretor, Caius Calpurnius, to appoint a day for the assembly. The accused then rested his hopes on another expedient, the procuring at his trial the support of his brother, Quintus Fulvius, who at this time stood high in the public esteem, both on account of the merit of his past services and the expectation of his speedily reducing Capua. But Fulvius having sent a petition to this purpose, couched in terms calculated to excite compassion, as in a case where a brother's life was concerned, and the senate answering that his quitting Capua would be injurious to the public interest, Cneius Fulvius, at the approach of the day appointed for the assembly, withdrew into exile to Tarquinii. The commons passed an order confirming his banishment as legal.

4. In the mean time the grand operations of the campaign were directed against Capua; where, however, the siege was carried on rather by a close blockade than by vigorous assaults. This caused so great a famine that the populace and the slaves could no longer endure it; and yet there was no way of sending messengers to Hannibal, the approaches were all so strictly guarded. At length a Numidian was found, who, taking a letter, engaged to make his way with it; and, going out by night, he passed through the middle of

the Roman camp. This encouraged the Campanians to try, while they had any remains of vigour, what might be done by sallies from all sides of the town. In many engagements which followed, their cavalry were generally successful, their infantry worsted : but the besiegers were not nearly so much pleased by the advantages which they had gained as mortified at being overcome, in any particular, by an enemy besieged, and on the point of being taken. At last the Romans adopted a method of supplying by art their deficiency in strength. Out of all the legions were selected young men, who, from the power and lightness of their bodies, possessed the greatest agility : to these were given bucklers, shorter than those of the cavalry, and to each seven javelins four feet long, pointed with iron, in the same manner as the missile javelins now used by the light infantry. The cavalry, each taking one of these behind him on his horse, taught them, by frequent exercise, so to ride and dismount quickly, when the signal was given. As soon as, from daily practice, they seemed to perform this with sufficient expertness, they were led out into a plain, between the camp and the walls, against the cavalry of the Campanians, who stood there in order of battle. When they came within a weapon's cast, these light footmen dismounted, and, forming in a moment, instead of cavalry, a line of infantry ran forward against the enemy's horse ; and, as they advanced, discharged their javelins one after another with great fury ; by the vast number of which, thrown against men and horses indiscriminately, very many were wounded. But the novelty and unexpectedness of such a proceeding caused still greater fright ; and, while they were in this disorder, the cavalry made their charge, and drove them back even to their gates with great slaughter. Henceforward the Romans had the superiority in the field in respect to both horse and foot. It was then made an established regulation, that in all legions there should be light infantry of this sort, who are called *velites*. We are told, that the person who advised the mixing of footmen with the cavalry was *Quintus Navius*, a centurion ; and that he was, on that account, highly honoured by the general.

5. While affairs at Capua were in this state, Hannibal's judgment was long suspended between his wishes, on one hand, to acquire possession of the citadel of Tarentum, and, on the other, to retain Capua. At length, however, he determined in favour of the latter ; because on that object he saw that the attention of all men, both friends and enemies, was fixed ; as the fate of that city would demonstrate what kind of consequences were to be expected from revolting from the Romans. Leaving therefore in Bruttium the greatest part of his baggage, and all his heavier armed

troops, and selecting such of the infantry and cavalry as were best qualified for an expeditious march, he took the route to Campania. Notwithstanding he went with much speed, yet he was followed by thirty-three elephants. In a retired valley behind Mount Tifata, which overhangs Capua, he halted; and having, at his coming, taken the fort of Galatia, from which he dislodged the garrison by force, he prepared to act against the besiegers. He sent forward to the besieged information of the time when he intended to assault the Roman camp, in order that they might be in readiness, and pour out at once from all the gates. This gave the besiegers a most violent alarm; for, while he carried on his attack on one side, all the Campanians, both horse and foot, and with them the Carthaginian garrison, commanded by Bostar and Hanno, sallied out on the other. In this dangerous situation the Romans, lest by running together to one part they should leave any other unguarded, divided their forces in this manner: Appius Claudius was opposed to the Campanians; Fulvius to Hannibal; Caius Nero, propretor, with the cavalry of the sixth legion, took post on the road leading to Suessula; and Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the cavalry of the confederates, on the side opposite the river Vulturnus. The fight began with the usual shouting and tumult: but, besides the other noises of men, horses, and weapons, the multitude of Campanians unable to bear arms, being spread along the walls, raised so loud a shout, accompanied with the clangour of brazen instruments, such as is commonly made in the dead of night on occasion of eclipses of the moon, that it drew the attention even of the combatants. Appius easily repulsed the Campanians from the rampart. Hannibal and his Carthaginians, a more powerful force, pressed hard on Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way to the enemy, and, in its being broken, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants pushed through to the very rampart. It had made an effectual breach in the Roman line; but while flattered, on the one hand, with the hope of forcing into the camp, it was threatened on the other with being cut off from the main body of the army. When Fulvius saw the dastardly behaviour of the legion, and the danger of the camp, he exhorted Quintus Navius, and the other principal centurions, to fall on that cohort that was fighting close to the rampart, and to cut it in pieces: he observed to them that "the juncture was critical in the last degree; that these men must either be allowed a passage, and then they would break into the camp with less labour than they had exerted in forcing their way through a thick line of troops, or they must be despatched at the foot of the rampart. This would not be a matter of much con-

test: they were few in number, and shut out from their friends; and the very breach which, while the Romans were dispirited, was seen in their line, would, if they faced about on the foe, prove the means of enclosing and attacking them on all sides at once." Navius, on hearing these words of the general, took from the standard-bearer the standard of the second company of spearmen, and advanced with it against the enemy, threatening to throw it into the midst of them if the soldiers did not instantly follow him and take a share in the fight. His person was very large, and the standard, raised aloft, attracted the eyes of all. When he came up to the front of the Spaniards, showers of javelins were poured on him from all sides, almost the whole body directing their attacks against him alone; but neither the multitude of the enemies, nor the force of their weapons, could repel the onset of this single combatant.

6. At the same time, Marcus Atilius, a lieutenant-general, caused the standard of the first company of principes belonging to the same legion, to be brought forward against the enemy. The officers commanding in the camp, Lucius Porcius Licinus and Titus Popilius, lieutenant-generals, fought with vigour in defence of their trenches, and killed on the very rampart some elephants in the act of attempting to cross it. The bodies of these filling up the ditch, as by a mound or a bridge, afforded a passage to the assailants, and a desperate slaughter was made here, fighting on the bodies of the dead elephants. On the other side of the camp the Campanians and the Carthaginian garrison had been repulsed, and the fight was now maintained close to the gate of Capua, which opens towards the city of Vulturnus. The Romans were hindered from forcing their way in, not so much by the arms of the soldiers as by the ballistæ and scorpions with which the gate was furnished; and which, by the missile weapons they threw, kept the assailants at a great distance. The ardour of the Romans was, besides, checked by their commander, Appius Claudius, being wounded; for while he was encouraging his men in the van, he received a thrust from a javelin in the upper part of his breast, below the left shoulder. Nevertheless, a vast number of the enemy was killed before the gate, and the rest were driven in disorder into the city. When Hannibal saw that the Spanish cohort was slain to a man, and that the Romans maintained the defence of their camp with the utmost degree of vigour, he gave over the assault, and began to retreat, making his line of infantry face about, and the cavalry cover their rear against any attack. The legions were ardently intent on pursuing the enemy; but Flaccus ordered a retreat to be sounded, supposing that enough had been done to make

the Campanian, and Hannibal himself, sensible how little able he was to protect them. Some who have written accounts of this battle, inform us that there were slain on that day, of Hannibal's army, eight thousand men, and three thousand of the Campanians; and that fifteen standards were taken from the Carthaginians, eighteen from the Campanians. In other accounts I find that the importance of the battle was not by any means so great, and that there was more of alarm in the case than of fighting: that a party of Numidians and Spaniards, with some elephants, having by surprise broken into the Roman camp, the elephants going through the middle of it overthrew the tents with great noise, so that the beasts of burden broke their collars and ran about frightened: that, to increase the disorder, a stratagem was used, Hannibal sending in some persons who could speak the Latin language, of whom he had many, giving orders, in the name of the consuls, that, as the camp was lost, every man should fly, as he was able, to the nearest mountains; but that the imposition was quickly detected, and its progress stopped by a great slaughter of the enemy, and that the elephants were driven out of the camp with firebrands. This battle, in whatsoever manner begun and ended, was the last that was fought previous to the surrender of Capua. The medixtuticus, or chief magistrate of the Campanians, for this year, was Seppius Lesius, a man of obscure birth and small property. There is a story that, at a former time, when his mother was, in his behalf, (he being under age,) expiating a prodigy which happened in the family, the aruspex answered her, that the supreme power at Capua would come to that boy: on which, knowing no circumstance that could countenance such an expectation, she replied, "What you say supposes the affairs of the Campanians in a truly desperate state, when the supreme magistracy is to come to my son." This expression, meant in derision of a true prediction, proved itself true in the event; for the people being distressed by the sword and by famine, and destitute of every kind of hope, those who were entitled by birth to expect the posts of honour, declining to accept them, Lesius, who exclaimed that Capua was deserted and betrayed by the nobility, obtained the post of supreme magistrate, and was the last Campanian who held it.

7. Hannibal, seeing that he could neither bring the enemy to another engagement nor force a passage through their camp into Capua, and fearing lest the new consuls might cut off his supplies of provisions, determined to drop a design in which he had no prospect of success, and to remove from the place. To what quarter he should next direct his route was then to be resolved; and, while he was earnestly

deliberating on this head, he felt his mind strongly impelled to make an attempt on Rome itself, the grand source of the war; a measure always ardently wished for, and the omission of which, on the favourable occasion after the battle of Cannæ, was generally censured by others, and not defended by himself. He thought that he need not despair of gaining possession of some part of the city during the panic and tumult which his unexpected approach would occasion; and that when Rome should be in danger, either both the commanders, or at least one of them, would leave Capua; and that, should they divide their forces, this, by weakening both, would afford either him or the Campanians a chance of acting with success. One consideration made him uneasy, that, on his departure, the Capuans might perhaps immediately surrender. He therefore, by rewards, engaged a Numidian, who was of a disposition to undertake any thing for pay, to be the bearer of a letter to the people; and, going into the Roman camp in the character of a deserter, to pass out privately on the other side to Capua. This letter was full of encouragements to hold out: "his departure," he told them, "would prove the means of their safety, as it would draw away the Roman generals and armies from before Capua to the defence of Rome." He exhorted them "not to let their spirits sink; for by patient resolution, for a few days, they would free themselves entirely from the siege." He then ordered all the vessels on the river Vulturnus to be seized, and brought up to a fort which he had before erected for the security of his camp. As soon as he was informed that a sufficient number of these had been procured to carry over his troops, he led them down by night to the river, provided with victuals for ten days, and, before morning, they gained the other side.

8. That this step was intended Fulvius Flaccus had discovered, from deserters, before it was put into execution; and had apprized the senate of it by a letter sent to Rome, where men's minds were variously affected by the intelligence. At a meeting of the senate, which was immediately convened on this alarming emergency, Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina, recommended that all concern about Capua, with every other matter, should be laid aside, and all the generals and armies called home, from every part of Italy, for the defence of the capital. Fabius Maximus represented it as utterly disgraceful to retire from Capua, and to let their fears be excited, and their motions directed, by every nod and menace of Hannibal. "Was it credible," he said, "that he, who after gaining the victory of Cannæ, had not dared to approach the city?" "Should now, after being repulsed from Capua, conceive an expectation of taking

Rome? His purpose in coming was not to attack Rome, but to raise the siege of Capua. As to Rome, Jupiter and the rest of the gods, witnesses of the treaties broken by Hannibal, would, with the troops then in the city, defend it." These opposite opinions were both rejected, and that of Publius Valerius Flaccus, which pointed out a middle course, was adopted. He advised that due attention should be paid to both the affairs in question, and that a letter should be sent to the generals commanding at Capua, informing them of the force then in that city; mentioning that "they themselves knew what number of troops Hannibal brought with him, and how many were necessary for carrying on the siege of Capua;" and directing, that "if one of the generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, and at the same time the siege be properly carried on by the remaining troops and the other general, then, that Claudius and Fulvius should settle between themselves which should conduct the siege of Capua, and which should come home to defend their native city in any attack." A decree of the senate to this effect having been passed and carried to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, whose part it was to go to Rome, his colleague being indisposed in consequence of his wound, having selected out of the three armies fifteen thousand foot and one thousand horse, conveyed them over the Vulturnus. Having learned with certainty that Hannibal intended to go by the Latine road, he despatched couriers before him to the corporate towns on and near the Appian road, Setia, Cora, and Lanuvium, with orders that the people of those places should not only have provisions prepared for their use, but also bring them down to the road from the lands which lay out of the way; and that they should draw together bodies of soldiers into their towns, that every man might stand forth in defence of his own state.

9. Hannibal, after passing the Vulturnus, encamped for that day at a small distance from the river. On the day following he passed by Cales, and came into the Sidicinian territory, where he halted one day to lay it waste; and then marched along the Latine way through the territories of Suessa, Allifæ, and Casinum. Under the walls of Casinum he remained encamped two days, ravaging the country round. Proceeding thence by Interamna and Aquinum, he came into the Fregellan region to the river Liris, where he found the bridge broken down by the people with design to check his progress. On the other hand, Fulvius had met a delay at the Vulturnus, for Hannibal had burned the ships, and he found great difficulty, in a place where timber was exceedingly scarce, to procure rafts for transporting his army. But this being at length effected, the rest of his

march was easy and expeditious; for not only in the towns, but on both sides of the road, he was accommodated with plenty of provisions; while the soldiers cheerfully exhorted each other to quicken their pace, in the consideration that they were going to defend their native city. At Rome, a messenger from Fregella, who had without stopping travelled a day and a night, caused a most violent alarm; which being augmented by people running up and down, and adding groundless circumstances to what they had heard, put the whole city into a tumultuous ferment. The lamentations of the women were not only heard from the private houses, but the matrons in all quarters, rushing out into the public streets, ran to all the temples, where they swept the altars with their dishevelled hair, fell on their knees, and with hands raised up towards the heavens and the gods, prayed that they would rescue the city of Rome from the attempts of its enemies, and preserve from hostile violence the Roman mothers, and their little children. The senate remained assembled at the forum, that the magistrates there might, on any occasion, consult them readily. Some accepted commands of parties, and repaired to the several posts to execute their duties; others offered their services wherever they might be requisite. Guards were posted in the citadel, in the capitol, on the walls, on the outside of the city, and likewise on the Alban mount, and in the fort of *Æsula*. In the midst of this confusion news arrived that *Quintus Fulvius*, proconsul, had set out with an army from *Capua*; and lest his authority should be diminished by his coming into the city,* the senate passed a decree that *Quintus Fulvius* should have equal power with the consuls. *Hannibal*, after ravaging the lands of *Fregella* with particular severity, in resentment for the breaking down the bridges, came through the territories of *Frusino*, *Ferentium*, and *Anagnia*, into that of *Lavici*; thence pursuing his route through *Algidum* to *Tusculum*, where, being refused admittance into the town, he marched towards the right, to *Gabii*, and bringing down his army from thence into the lands of the *Pupinian* tribe, pitched his camp eight miles from *Rome*. In proportion as he came nearer to the city the greater was the number of its fugitives slain by the *Numidians*, who advanced before him; and very many prisoners of all ranks and ages were taken.

* He would have lost all authority on coming into the city; for within the walls a proconsul had no jurisdiction. Whenever therefore a proconsul obtained a triumph or an ovation, it was necessary to procure an order of the people, investing him with the authority of a magistrate during that day.

10. During this general commotion, Fulvius Flaccus, with his army, entered Rome through the Capuan gate, and proceeded along the middle of the city, and through the Carinæ to the Esquilæ, where, passing out, he pitched his tents between the Esquiline and Colline gates. The plebeian ediles brought thither provisions for the troops: the consuls and senate came into the camp, and there held their consultations on the measures requisite in the present state of affairs. It was then resolved that the consuls should encamp before the Colline and Esquiline gates; that Caius Calpurnius, city pretor, should command in the capitol and citadel; and that the senate should be kept assembled in full numbers in the forum, as sudden exigences might probably require their consideration. Meanwhile, Hannibal moved his camp forward to the river Anio, three miles from the city, and posting there his troops, he himself, with two thousand horsemen, proceeded from the Colline gate as far as the temple of Hercules, riding about, and taking as near a view as he could of the fortifications and situation of the city. Flaccus, ashamed of his being suffered to do this, and so much at his ease, sent out a party of cavalry against him, with orders to make those of the enemy retire into their camp. When the fight began, the consuls ordered a body of Numidian deserters, who were then on the Aventine, (to the number of twelve hundred,) to march across the middle of the city to the Esquilæ, judging that none would be better qualified to act among the hollows, and garden walls, and tombs, and enclosed roads in that quarter. Some persons, seeing from the capitol and citadel these men filing off on horseback, on the brow of the Publician hill, cried out that the Aventine was taken: and this incident caused such confusion and terror, that if the Carthaginian camp had not been just at the outside of the walls, the whole multitude would, in their consternation, have rushed out there. As it was, they ran back into the houses, and up to the roofs, from whence they poured down stones and weapons on their own soldiers passing the streets, whom they took for enemies. Nor could the commotion be suppressed, or the mistake rectified, so thronged were the streets with crowds of peasants and cattle, which the sudden alarm had driven into the city. The party of Numidian cavalry were successful against the enemy, and drove them away. As it was necessary to suppress, in various different places, the many disturbances which were continually arising on every slight occasion, a decree was passed that all who had been dictators, consuls, or censors, should have the authority of magistrates, until the foe should retire from the walls. By this means a great many tumults, which were raised without foundation, during

the remainder of that day and the following night, were entirely crushed.

11. Next day Hannibal, crossing the Anio, drew up his forces in order of battle; nor did Flaccus and the consuls decline the challenge. When the armies on both sides stood nearly marshalled for the decision of a contest of such magnitude, where the city of Rome was to be the prize of the conqueror, a prodigious shower of rain, mixed with hail, so grievously annoyed both parties, that, scarcely able to hold their arms, they retired to their respective camps, not moved in the slightest degree by any fear of their adversaries. On the next day likewise, when the armies were formed on the same ground, the same kind of storm separated them; and as soon as they had retired the weather became wonderfully serene and calm. This was considered by the Carthaginians as portentous; and we are told that Hannibal was heard to say that "sometimes the will, sometimes the power of taking the city of Rome, was denied him." His hopes were also damped by two other incidents; one of some weight, the other trivial. The more important was, that while he lay with his army under the walls of the city of Rome, he understood that a reinforcement of soldiers for Spain had marched out with standards borne before them. The one of less importance was, and which he learned from a prisoner, that at this very time the ground whereon his camp stood, happened to be sold, and the price was not in the least lowered on that account. It appeared to him so great an insult, that a purchaser should be found at Rome for that ground which he actually held and possessed by right of conquest, that he immediately called a crier, and ordered him to set up to sale the silversmith's shops, which at that time stood round the Roman forum. Discouraged by all these circumstances, he moved his camp to the river Tutia, six miles from the city, and proceeded thence to the grove of Feronia, where was a temple at that time much celebrated for its riches; the Capenatians and other neighbouring states being accustomed to bring hither the first fruits of their lands, and other offerings, according to their abilities, by which means it was decorated with abundance of gold and silver: of all these offerings the temple was then despoiled. After Hannibal's departure large heaps of brass were found in it, the soldiers having, through remorse for this impious proceeding, thrown in pieces of uncoined metal. That this temple was pillaged, all writers agree: but Cælius asserts that Hannibal, in his march towards Rome, turned aside thither from Eretum; and he traces his route through Amitemum, Cutilli, and Reate, alleging that from Campania he came into Samnium, thence into Pelignia; then, passing

near the town of Sulmo, proceeded into the territory of the Marrucinians, thence through the lands of Alba into Marsia, and so on to Amiternum, and the village of Foruli. Nor is this diversity of opinion owing to people's having lost, within so short a period, a distinct remembrance of the traces of so great an army; for that he went in that track is certain; the only matter in doubt is, whether he took this route in advancing towards Rome, or in his return thence to Campania.

12. But Hannibal showed not such obstinate perseverance in his endeavours to raise the siege of Capua, as the Romans did in pushing it forward; for from Lucania he hastened away into Bruttium, and all the way to the very strait and the city of Rhegium, with such speed, that in consequence of his sudden arrival he was very near taking that place by surprise. Capua, though the vigour of the siege had not in the mean time been at all relaxed, yet felt the return of Flaccus; and it was matter of great wonder to the besieged that Hannibal had not come back at the same time. But, in discoursing with some of the besiegers, they soon learned that they were left to themselves and abandoned; and that the Carthaginians considered the hope of maintaining possession of Capua as desperate. This afflicting intelligence was followed by an edict of the proconsul, published by direction of the senate, and spread among the enemy, that "any native of Campania who should come over before a certain day, should be indemnified for all that was past." But not one embraced the offer, though they were not restrained by fidelity to their associates, so much as by their fears, because at the time of their revolting they had committed crimes too enormous, as they supposed, to be forgiven. However, though none of them were led to desert by a regard to private interest, yet neither was any proper care taken to promote the interest of the public. The nobility had renounced all public business, and could not be compelled to meet in the senate; and he who was in the office of chief magistrate was a man who had not, from thence, derived any honour on himself, but had, from his own worthlessness, stripped the office of its weight and authority. Not one of the nobles even appeared in the forum, or in any public place; but kept themselves shut up in their houses, in daily expectation of the downfall of their city and the ruin of their country, together with their own destruction. The administration of all business had devolved on Bostar and Hanno, the commanders of the Carthaginian garrison, the chief object of whose concern was their own danger, not that of their allies. These men wrote to Hannibal in terms not only free, but harsh, charging him, that "besides surrendering Capua into the hands of the enemy, he had aban-

done them and their garrison to the hazard of all kinds of torture; that he had gone off to Bruttium as if on purpose to get out of the way, lest the city should be taken in his sight. This was not like the conduct of the Romans, whom not even an attack on the city of Rome could draw away from the siege of Capua: so much more steady were Romans in enmity than Carthaginians in friendship." They told him, that "if he would return to Capua, and bring his whole force thither, both they and the Campanians would be ready to sally forth to his assistance. They had not crossed the Alps for the purpose of waging war with the people of Rhegium, or of Tarentum; wherever the Roman legions were, there ought likewise to be the Carthaginian armies. In this manner success had been obtained at Cannæ; in this manner at the Thrasymenus; by uniting, by keeping their camp close to that of the enemy, by making trial of fortune." Having written a letter to this effect, they gave it to some Numidians, who had before promised their service for a reward agreed on. After these had come into the camp to Flaccus as deserters, intending to watch for an opportunity of proceeding thence, (the famine which had raged so long in Capua affording any one a colourable pretence for deserting,) a Campanian woman, who had been mistress to one of these, came unexpectedly into the camp, and informed the Roman general that the Numidians had come over with a treacherous design, and were carrying a letter to Hannibal; and that of this she was ready to convict one of them, who had disclosed the matter to her. On being brought to an examination, he at first maintained firmly that he did not know the woman; but afterward, yielding reluctantly to the force of truth, on seeing that the racks were called for and brought out, he confessed the fact. The letter was produced, and a further discovery made of a matter not hitherto mentioned, that several other Numidians, under the appearance of deserters, were strolling about in the Roman camp. These, in number about seventy, were apprehended, and, together with the late deserters, beaten with rods; their hands were then cut off, and they were driven back to Capua.

13. The sight of a punishment so grievous quite broke the spirits of the Campanians. The populace, crowding about the senate-house, compelled Lesius to call a meeting of the senate, and openly threatened the nobles, who, for a long time past, had absented themselves from public assemblies, that if they did not attend themselves to the meeting, they would go round to each of their houses and drag them out by force. The fear of this procured the march to the meeting, while the rest proposed to the Roman generals, Vibius

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principal promoter of the revolt from the Romans, on being asked his opinion, said, that "those who spoke of sending ambassadors, and of peace, and a surrender, did not consider either what they themselves would do, if they had the Romans in their power, or what they must expect to suffer from them. What!" said he, "do you imagine that your surrender now will be of the same kind with that, whereby, in order to obtain support against the Samnites, we delivered ourselves and all belonging to us into the hands of the Romans? Have you already forgotten at what season and in what circumstances we revolted from the Romans? Have you already forgotten how, at the time of this revolt, we put to death with indignity and torture their garrison, which might have been dismissed? How often and with what bitter animosity we have sallied out against them, since they began the siege, and even attacked their camp? That we invited Hannibal, in hopes of crushing them; and that we lately sent him hence to attack the city of Rome? Recollect, on the other hand, the instances of their animosity against us; that you may, from thence, be able to estimate what room there is for hope. When there was a foreign enemy in Italy, and that enemy was Hannibal; when war blazed in every quarter, they, neglecting every other concern, neglecting Hannibal himself, sent both their consuls with two consular armies to attack Capua. These two years they have kept us shut up, surrounded with trenches, and consuming us by famine; although they themselves, together with us, undergo the extremest dangers, and the severest labours; often losing many at their rampart and trenches, and, at last, being nearly beaten out of their camp. But I will not enlarge on these matters. To endure toils and hardships in attacking an enemy's city is no new thing; it is usual. What I am going to mention affords a proof of resentment and implacable hatred: Hannibal, with a powerful army of horse and foot, assaulted their camp, and got possession of a part of it. The greatness of their danger did not in the least dispose them to drop the siege. Crossing the Vultur-nus, he laid waste the territory of Cales with fire: such a severe calamity of their allies called them not away. He ordered his troops to march in hostile array to the city of Rome itself: this storm, ready to burst on their heads, they likewise slighted. Passing the Anio, he encamped within three miles of Rome, and at last advanced to the very walls and gates, showing a determination to deprive them of their city, unless they quitted Capua. They did not quit it. Wild beasts, inflamed with blind fury and rage, you may draw away to the assistance of their young, if you go up to their dens and cubs. As to the Romans, not the

blockade of Rome, nor their wives and children, whose lamentations might almost be heard even here, not their altars, their houses, the temples of their gods, and the sepulchres of their ancestors profaned and violated, could draw them away from Capua; so keen are their wishes to bring us to punishment, so eager their thirst for our blood. And, perhaps, not without reason; for we, on our parts, would have done the same had fortune given us the power. Wherefore, since the immortal gods have determined otherwise, and though I ought not to decline death; yet while I am free, while I am master of myself, I can, by a death both honourable and easy, avoid the tortures and indignities which the enemy hopes to inflict on me. Never will I see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius puffed up with the insolence of victory; nor will I be dragged in chains through the city of Rome as a spectacle in their triumph, that I may afterward, either in a dungeon or tied to a stake, have my back mangled with stripes, and submit my neck to a Roman axe; never will I see my native city demolished and reduced to ashes, nor the Campanian matrons and virgins dragged to violation. Alba, from whence they themselves sprung, they razed from the foundation, that no monument of their extraction or origin might exist. Can I believe that they will spare Capua, against which they are more violently incensed than against Carthage? Whosoever of you, then, are disposed to yield to destiny, before they become spectators of so many scenes of such horrid kinds, for these a banquet is prepared, and ready this day, at my house. When you shall have indulged plentifully in food and wine, the same cup that will be given to me shall go round. That cup will save our bodies from torture, our minds from insult, our eyes and ears from the sight and hearing of all the cruelties and indignities that await the conquered. There will be persons in readiness to throw our lifeless bodies on a large pile kindled in the courtyard of the house. This way alone conducts us to death with honour and freedom. Our enemies themselves will admire our courage, and Hannibal will be convinced that the allies, whom he deserted and betrayed, were men of determined valour."

14. More approved of the proposal contained in this speech of Vibius than had resolution to adopt it. The greater part of the senate conceiving hopes that the clemency of the Roman people, often experienced in former disputes, might be extended even to their case, for that purpose, sent ambassadors to offer passing a decree to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven followed Vibius to his house; where, after persisting with him, and, as far as they could, banishing from their minds, by wine, all

feeling of the impending evil, they every one took the poison. They then broke up the meeting, gave their hands, took the last embrace, condoling with one another on their own fall, and that of their country. Some remained there, in order to be burned together on one pile, and the rest retired to their several houses. Their veins were filled by the victuals and wine; which circumstance retarded the efficacy of the poison in hastening death, so that most of them lingered through that whole night, and part of the next day: however, they all expired before the gates were opened to the enemy. On the day following, the gate of Jupiter, which was opposite to the Roman camp, was opened by order of the proconsul, and through it marched in one legion, and two confederate squadrons, under the command of Caius Fulvius, lieutenant-general. His first care was to have all the arms and weapons in the city brought to him; then, placing guards at all the gates, to prevent any one going or being conveyed out, he secured the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Campanian senators to go into the camp to the Roman generals. On their arrival there, they were all immediately thrown into chains, and ordered to furnish the questors with an account of what gold and silver they possessed. The gold amounted to seventy pounds weight, the silver to three thousand two hundred. Of the senators, twenty-five were sent to Cales, and twenty-eight to Teanum, to be kept in custody. These were the persons who appeared to have been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the revolt from the Romans.

15. With respect to the punishment of the Campanian senate, Fulvius and Claudius could by no means agree. Claudius was inclined to favour their suit for pardon; the opinion of Fulvius was more severe. Appius therefore proposed that the entire determination of that matter should be removed to Rome; observing, that it was highly reasonable that the senate should have an opportunity of inquiring whether they had brought any of the Latine confederates, or of the municipal towns, to take part in their designs, and whether they had been assisted by them in the war. Fulvius insisted that "it would be to the last degree improper that faithful allies should have their minds disturbed by dubious imputations, and be subjected to informers, who never scruple either what they say or do. Any inquiry of that kind therefore he was resolved to suppress and stifle." After this conversation they parted; and Appius made no doubt that his colleague, though he spoke in this determined manner, would yet, in a case of such importance, wait for letters from Rome. But Fulvius, apprehensive that his intention might be frustrated by that very means, dismissed the officers attending at his pavilion and ordered the military tribunes

and prefects of the allies to give notice to two thousand chosen horsemen to be in readiness at the third trumpet. With this body of horse he set out in the night for Teanum, and entering the gate at the first light, proceeded straight to the forum. The arrival of the horsemen having caused immediately a concourse of people, he ordered the Sidicinian magistrate to be summoned, and commanded him to bring forth the Campanians whom he had in custody. Accordingly they were all brought forth, beaten with rods, and beheaded. From thence he rode away at full speed to Cales; where, when he had taken his seat on the tribunal, and the lictors were binding the Campanians to the stakes, a courier arriving in haste from Rome, delivered him a letter from Caius Calpurnius, the pretor, and a decree of the senate in their favour. A murmur immediately spread from the tribunal through the whole assembly, that the case of the Campanians was reserved for the cognizance of the senate. Fulvius, suspecting this to be so, when he received the letter, thrust it unopened into his bosom, and commanded the crier to order the lictor to proceed in his duty according to law. Thus those also who were at Cales suffered punishment. He then read the letter and the decree, when it could not obstruct the business already finished, and which had been hurried on lest it might be obstructed. When Fulvius was rising from his seat, Taurea Jubellius, a Campanian, making his way through the middle of the city and of the crowd, called on him by name. Fulvius, wondering what his business with him might be, resumed his seat; on which the other said, "Order me also to be put to death, that you may boast of having killed a braver man than yourself." Fulvius said that "the man had certainly lost his reason," and observed besides, that "if he were inclined to comply with his desire, he was now restrained by a decree of the senate." Jubellius on this exclaimed: "Since, after seeing my country reduced to captivity, after losing my friends and relations, after having killed with my own hand my wife and children, to prevent their suffering any indignity, I am denied even the means of dying in the same manner with these my countrymen, let me seek from my own resolution a deliverance from this detested life;" and then stabbing himself through the breast, with a sword which he had concealed under his garment, he fell lifeless at the general's feet.

16. Because not only the whole punishment of the Campanians, but also most of the other transactions in that quarter, were conducted agreeably to the single judgment of Flaccus, Appius Claudius died before the day, too, that this same Taurea rendered of Capua. They came voluntarily to

Cales, nor died by his own hand; but that while he was, among the rest, tied to a stake, and because the expressions which he loudly vociferated could not be well heard, amid the noise of the crowd, Flaccus had ordered silence to be made, and that then Taurea uttered the words before mentioned: that "he, a man of consummate valour, was to be put to death by one his inferior in courage!" that, on his saying this, the crier, by order of the proconsul, pronounced aloud this order: "Lictor, apply the rods to the man of valour, and on him first execute the law." Some writers assert also that he read the decree of the senate before he beheaded the prisoners: but because there was an expression annexed that, "if he judged proper, he should refer the business entire to the senate," he interpreted this as giving him authority to determine what he judged most conducive to the public good. From Cales he returned to Capua, and received the submission of Atella and Calatia. In these towns also, the persons who had been in the management of affairs were punished. On the whole, eighty of the principal members of the senate were put to death, and about three hundred Campanian nobles were thrown into prison. The rest, being sent into several of the cities of the Latine confederates, to be kept in custody, perished by various means. The whole remaining multitude of Campanian citizens were ordered to be sold. How to dispose of the town and its territory remained to be considered: and here, many were of opinion that a city, so hostile in disposition, so near the Roman borders, and so formidably powerful, ought to be demolished. However, the consideration of immediate utility prevailed; and, on account of the soil, which was well known to be endued with a fertility qualifying it for every kind of cultivation, and beyond any other in Italy, the city was preserved, to be a kind of settlement of husbandmen. For the purpose of peopling the same, all those of its former inhabitants who had not become citizens, together with the freedmen, dealers, and tradesmen, were ordered to remain; the land and public buildings became the property of the Roman people. It was, however, determined that Capua should have no other privilege of a city than the being inhabited; no system of civil polity, no assembly of a senate or commons, no magistrates; for it was supposed that a multitude, without a public council, without a ruling head, participating in no common rights, would be incapable of forming designs in concert. It was further ordained, that the administration of justice should be conducted by a prefect, to be sent yearly from Rome. In this manner were the affairs of Capua adjusted, with a policy in every particular commendable. Severe and speedy punishment was inflict-

ed on the most guilty; the populace were dispersed beyond all hope of return: but no passionate resentment was vented, in fire and devastation, on the unoffending houses and walls. There was impressed on the minds of all the allies an advantageous opinion of Roman clemency, in the sparing of this very celebrated and opulent city, the demolition of which would have deeply afflicted, not only all Campania, but every state in its neighbourhood. This conduct extorted also from the enemy a full acknowledgment of the power of the Romans to punish faithless allies; while they were convinced how utterly inadequate the ability of Hannibal was to afford them the protection engaged for.

17. The attention of the senate being no longer necessary to the business of Capua, they decreed to Claudius Nero six thousand foot and three hundred horse, to be chosen by himself out of those two legions which he had commanded at that place, with a like number of foot, and eight hundred horse of the confederate Latines. This army he embarked at Puteoli, and carried over to Spain. When the fleet arrived at Tarraco, he disembarked the troops, hauled the ships on shore, and, to augment his numbers, armed the marines; then, marching to the river Iberus, and receiving the forces then with Titus Fonteius and Lucius Marcius, he proceeded towards the enemy. Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, was at this time encamped in Ausetania, at a place called the Black Stones, between the towns of Illiturgi and Mentissa—a valley surrounded by hills and woods, the entrances to which were seized by Nero. In order to extricate himself, Hasdrubal sent a messenger with the wand of peace, engaging that, if he were allowed to depart, he would entirely evacuate Spain. This proposal the Roman received with joy. The Carthaginians then requested that a conference might be held, in order to settle in writing the rules to be observed respecting the surrender of the citadels of the several towns, and the appointment of a day whereon the garrisons were to be withdrawn, removing without obstruction every thing that belonged to them. This request being complied with, Hasdrubal gave orders that as soon as it should begin to grow dark, that part of his army least calculated for expeditious movements, should get out of the defile as they were able: particular care, however, was taken that great numbers should not leave it at once, because a few were more likely both to pass in silence, and unobserved by the enemy, and also to make their way through the narrow and difficult paths. Next day the commanders of it met; but the whole of it was purposely wasted by Hasdrubal, in speaking and writing abundance of things perfectly immaterial; and, consequently, the conference was postponed to

the next. He thus gained the space of the following night also, to send out more of his troops, and even the next day did not conclude the business. In this manner several days were passed in openly debating on the conditions, and the nights in privately sending off the Carthaginians; so that when the greater part of his troops had got clear, his sincerity decreasing along with his fears, he refused to abide by what he himself had proposed. And now almost the whole of the infantry had made their way out of the defile, when, at the dawn of day, a thick fog overspread both that and all the adjacent plains; which Hasdrubal perceiving, sent to Nero to defer the conference until the next morning, alleging that this was a day on which the Carthaginians were prohibited by their religion from transacting any serious business. Even this raised no suspicion of deceit. Hasdrubal, having obtained the indulgence he had demanded, instantly quitted the camp with his cavalry and elephants, and, without causing any alarm, gained a place of safety. About the fourth hour, the fog being dispersed by the sun, the day cleared up, and showed to the Romans the enemy's deserted camp. Then, at last, Nero became acquainted with Carthaginian perfidy, and was so provoked at having thus been duped, that he set out directly in pursuit of the retreating enemy, determined to bring him to an engagement; but the other eluded all his endeavours. Some skirmishes, however, took place between the rear of the Carthaginians and the advanced guard of the Romans.

18. Meanwhile, those Spanish states which, after the late disaster, had abandoned the cause of the Romans, did not return to their alliance, but no others had lately deserted them. At Rome, since the recovery of Capua, the senate and people gave not more earnest attention to the affairs of Italy, than to those of Spain; they therefore determined to augment the army there, and to send a general to command it. But it was not so easy to agree on the person to be sent, as it was to perceive that extraordinary care ought to be employed in the choice of one to be commissioned to such a charge, in which two most eminent commanders had fallen within the space of thirty days, and where he was to supply the place of the two. Some named one, some another, until the resolution was at last adopted, of leaving it to the people in assembly to elect a proconsul for Spain; and the consuls accordingly proclaimed a day for the election. It had been expected, at first, that those who believed themselves qualified for such an important command, would become candidates; and the failure of this expectation renewed the affliction of the public, for the severe blow which they had sustained, and for the generals whom they had lost. Under

design of bringing men to execute his orders and schemes without hesitation, as if they were directed by the responses of an oracle. To prepare their minds for this, he never transacted any business, public or private, from the very moment of assuming the manly gown, without first going to the capitol, walking into the temple, and sitting there for some time; generally alone and in some retired spot. This custom, which was observed by him through the whole course of his life, made several people give credit to a notion which was then propagated either by his own contrivance or by some unknown author, that he was of divine extraction; like to the fable formerly told of Alexander the Great. The fiction went, that he was begotten by a huge serpent; in which form the prodigy, it was said, had been very often seen in his mother's chamber, and on people's coming in, glided away suddenly, and disappeared. These miraculous stories he himself never discouraged, but rather artfully countenanced, neither contradicting any thing of the kind, nor absolutely affirming it. Many other remarkable incidents in respect of this youth, some real, and others fictitious, had procured for him a degree of admiration surpassing what was due to any human being; and these were the motives which then induced the public to intrust him, at so unripe an age, with the conduct of so momentous a business as that to which he had aspired. To the remains of the whole army, still in Spain, and the forces carried thither from Puteoli with Claudius Nero, were added ten thousand foot and one thousand horse; and Marcus Junius Silanus, propretor, was sent with him to assist in the management of affairs. Thus, setting sail from Ostia, on the Tiber, with a fleet of thirty ships, which were all quinqueremes, and coasting along the shore of the Tuscan sea, the Alps, and the Gallic gulf; and then doubling the promontory of Pyrene, he disembarked his forces at Emporium, a city of Greeks, who came originally from Phocæa. Thence, having ordered the fleet to follow, he marched by land to Tarraco, and there held a convention of all the allies; for, on the news of his arrival, embassies had poured in from every state of the province. Here he ordered the ships to be laid up on shore, after sending back four triremes of the Massilians, which had, out of respect, accompanied him from home. He then applied himself to giving answers to the embassies of the several states, whose minds had been held in suspense by the succession of so many various events; and this he performed with much dignity of spirit, resulting from a thorough confidence in his own abilities; but, at the same time, not one presumptuous word fell from him, and, in

every thing which he said, there appeared at once the greatest elevation of sentiment, and the greatest candour.

20. Leaving Tarraco, he visited the several states of the allies, and the winter-quarters of the army. Here he bestowed much praise on the soldiers, for having, after all their sufferings, in two such dreadful disasters succeeding one another, still retained possession of the province, not allowing the enemy to derive any advantage from their success, but excluding them entirely from the country on the hither side of the Iberus, and honourably securing the safety of the allies. Marcius he kept near himself, and treated with him on terms so highly honourable, as plainly demonstrated that he feared nothing less than that any one might eclipse his own glory. Silanus then succeeded in the room of Nero, and the troops lately arrived went into winter-quarters. Scipio having, without loss of time, repaired to the places where his presence was requisite, and finished the business there to be done, returned to Tarraco. The enemy were by this time possessed with an opinion of Scipio not inferior to that entertained by his own countrymen and the allies; and they felt, moreover, a kind of foreboding of what was to come, which (the less able they were to account for apprehensions of which no cause appeared) impressed the greater dread on their minds. They had gone into winter-quarters in different parts of the country: Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, at Gades, on the ocean; Mago in the inland parts, the greatest part of his troops being stationed above the pass of Castulo; and Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, in the neighbourhood of Saguntum, on the banks of the Iberus. Towards the end of that summer wherein Capua was taken, and Scipio came into Spain, a Carthaginian fleet, which was called over from Sicily to Tarentum to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison in the citadel, shut up indeed every access to it by sea, but, by lying there too long, caused a greater scarcity among their friends than among the enemy: for the quantity of corn that could be brought into the town along the coasts, which were kept in awe, and through the ports, which were kept open by the power of the Carthaginian fleet, was not equal to the consumption of the fleet itself, crowded as it was with a mixed multitude of people of every description; and while the garrison of the citadel, being few in number, could support themselves out of the magazines previously formed without any importation, all that could be brought in was too little to answer the demands of the Tarentines and the fleet. At last the fleet was sent away, which gave greater satisfaction than its coming had done, but produced very little relief to the scarcity; for

when the naval force was removed, no more corn could be brought in.

21. Towards the close of this summer Marcus Marcellus having returned to Rome from his province of Sicily, the pretor, Caius Calpurnius, assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona, to give him audience. Here, after expatiating on the services which he had performed, and complaining in mild terms, not more on his own account than on that of his soldiers, that though he had completed all the business of the province, he had not been allowed to bring home the army, he requested permission to enter the city in triumph. This occasioned a long debate, wherein it was urged on one side that, after they had in his absence decreed a supplication and a thanksgiving to the immortal gods in his behalf, and for services happily accomplished, the refusing him a triumph when he appeared to demand it would imply an inconsistency; and, on the other, that, as they had decreed that he should give up the command of the army to a successor, (which kind of decree was never passed, unless when war still subsisted in the province,) there would be no less inconsistency in voting him a triumph, as if the war were concluded, and while the troops, who could best testify whether he merited that honour or not, were in a distant country. The matter was at length compromised, with a decree that he should enter the city in ovation. The plebeian tribunes, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people the issuing of an order that Marcus Marcellus should enjoy the authority of a general during the day on which he should pass through Rome in ovation. On the day preceding that of his entrance, he triumphed on the Alban mount; and, in his ovation, had great abundance of spoils borne before him into the city. Together with a model, representing the captured city of Syracuse; were carried in procession the catapultas, balistas, and every other kind of engine used in war. Likewise, the valuable ornaments collected by their kings, at vast expense, during a long continuance of peace; abundance of wrought silver and brass; furniture of various kinds; precious garments; and a great number of remarkably fine statues, with which kind of ornaments Syracuse had abounded as much as any of the Grecian cities. Eight elephants were also led in his train, as an emblem of his victory over the Carthaginians; and what formed not the least attractive part of the show, he was preceded by Sosis the Syracusan, and Mericus the Spaniard, with crowns of gold on their heads; the former of whom had guided the Romans into Syracuse by night, the other had delivered the island and its garrison into their hands. To both of these the freedom of the state was granted, and to

each five hundred acres of land. The portion intended for Sosis was ordered to be given to him in the territory of Syracuse, out of the estates which had belonged either to the kings or to the enemies of the Roman people, with any house that he should choose of those which had belonged to persons punished according to the laws of war. Mericus, and the Spaniards who came over with him, were to have a city and lands allotted to them, in some of those parts of Sicily which had revolted from the Romans; and Marcius Cornelius was commissioned to assign these to them wherever he should judge proper. Four hundred acres of land in the same country were decreed to Belligenes, by whose persuasions Mericus had been prevailed on to secede from the Carthaginians over to the Romans. After the departure of Marcellus from Sicily, a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand foot and three thousand Numidian horse, who were soon joined by the Murgantians; and their revolt was followed by that of Hybla, and several other cities of less note. The Numidians, headed by Mutines, making excursions through every part of the island, wasted with fire and sword the lands of those who were in alliance with Rome. Besides these untoward circumstances, the Roman troops, being incensed partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, became very remiss in their duty, and wanted rather a leader than inclination for a mutiny. In the midst of these difficulties the pretor, Marcus Cornelius, by sometimes soothing, sometimes reproving the soldiers, brought them to a calmer temper, and also reduced to submission all the states which had revolted; out of which he assigned Murgantia to those Spaniards who were entitled to a city and lands by the senate's decree.

22. As both the consuls were employed in the one province of Apulia, and as the danger to be apprehended from Hannibal and the Carthaginians was not diminished, they were ordered to cast lots for Apulia and Macedonia as their provinces. Macedonia fell to Sulpicius, and he succeeded in the room of Lævinus. Fulvius was called to Rome to preside at the elections; and, holding an assembly, the younger Veturian century, being the first to vote, named Titus Manlius Torquatus and Titus Otacilius consuls. Manlius being present, a crowd gathered around him to offer their congratulations, there being no doubt of the concurrence of the people. Surrounded as he was by a vast multitude, he went up to the consul's tribunal, requesting permission to say a few words, and that the century which waited might be called back. After the assembly had waited some time with impatience to know what he intended to require, he excused himself from accepting the office on account of the weakness of

his eyes; observing that "it would be shameless presumption in a pilot, or a general, who was obliged to transact his own proper business by the help of other people's eyes, to expect that the lives and fortunes of men should be committed to his charge: wherefore he requested the consul to order the younger Veturian century to be called back to vote anew, and to recollect, while they were electing consuls, the war that subsisted in Italy, with the present exigences of the commonwealth; and that people's ears were scarcely yet relieved from the noise and tumult raised by the enemy, when a few months ago they lay close to the walls of Rome." Here he was interrupted by the century, who one and all cried out that they would not alter their vote. Torquatus then replied, "Should I become consul, neither shall I be able to endure your behaviour nor you my government: go back, then, and vote again; and consider that there is a Carthaginian war subsisting in Italy, and that the leader of your enemies is Hannibal." The century, then, moved by the authority of the man, and the murmurs of approbation expressed by all around, besought Titus to summon the elder Veturian century, as they wished to confer with persons older than themselves, and to be directed by them in their choice of consuls. The elder Veturian century was accordingly summoned, and time was allowed for the others to confer with them, apart from the crowd, in the enclosure of the voters. The elders said that there were three proper objects for their consideration, two of whom had already passed through a full course of public honours, Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus: that if they had a particular wish to elect a consul yet untried against the Carthaginians, there was Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had conducted the war against King Philip, both on land and sea, with extraordinary success. They accordingly consulted together respecting those three; and the elders being dismissed, the younger century proceeded to vote. They named as consuls Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose character then shone in full splendour, in consequence of his glorious conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius, both absent;—and were followed by all the rest of the centuries. Men may ridicule the admirers of ancient times, but I shall ever remain persuaded, that even though there should exist a republic of philosophers, such as speculative men are fond of forming in imagination, but which never was known, yet there could not be produced either a nobility of more solid judgment, and of more unambitious tempers, nor a populace guided by sounder moral principles, than were these of whom I speak. That a century of young men should wish to consult their elders on the choice of a person to whom they were to intrust the govern-

ment by their vote, appears indeed at present scarcely credible; but it is because, in the fashion of this age, even sons slight and disregard the counsel of their parents.

23. They then proceeded to the election of pretors; and Publius Manlius Volso, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, Caius Lætorius, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, were chosen. It happened that, just as the elections were finished, an account arrived that Titus Otacilius, whom the people would probably have appointed consul, in his absence, together with Titus Manlius, if the course of the election had not been interrupted, had died in Sicily. The games of Apollo had been celebrated the year before, and, on the proposal of the pretor Calpurnius, that they should be performed this year also, a decree was made by the senate that they should be celebrated annually for ever. This year several prodigies were seen and reported. At the temple of Concord a statue of Victory, which stood on the summit of the roof, being struck by lightning, and shaken at its base, fell and stuck among the ensigns of the goddess which were on the pediment. From Anagnia and Fregella reports were brought that a wall and some gates were by the like means thrown down; that, in the forum of Sudertum, streams of blood ran for a whole day; that a shower of stones fell at Eretum; and that at Reate a mule had produced a foal. These prodigies were expiated with the greater victims; the people were ordered to perform a supplication of one day's continuance to avert the wrath of the gods, and the nine days' festival was solemnized. Several of the public priests died this year, and new ones were appointed in their places. In the room of Marcus Æmilius Numida, decemvir of religious affairs, was substituted Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; in the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, pontiff, Caius Livius; and in the room of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, augur, Marcus Servilius. Because Titus Otacilius Crassus, who was a pontiff, died after the conclusion of the year, there was no nomination of any person to his place. Caius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, because he had committed some irregularity in the distribution of the entrails, resigned the office.

24. About this time, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, after having first sounded the dispositions of the principal men in secret conferences, came with some light ships to a council of the Ætolians, which had been previously summoned for this purpose. Here, to convince them of the flourishing state of the affairs of Italy and Sicily, he expatiated in high terms on the reduction of Capua, and the earliest ancestors, a constant disposition to study the interest of their allies; some of whom they had added into their state to

equal privileges with themselves, and others were supported by them in such situations that they chose rather to be allies than fellow-citizens: that the Ætolians would be held by them in the higher degree of estimation on account that they would be the first, of all the nations separated from them by the sea, who united with them in friendship: that Philip and the Macedonians were troublesome neighbours; but that he had already broken their strength and spirits, and was determined to reduce them so low, that they should not only evacuate those cities of which they had forcibly deprived the Ætolians, but should find Macedonia itself an uneasy residence. As to the Acarnanians, whose dismemberment from their body gave the Ætolians much concern, he engaged to replace them under the former charter of obedience to their authority and jurisdiction." These assertions and promises of the Roman general, Scopas, who was then pretor of the nation, and Dorimachus, a principal man among the Ætolians, confirmed by their own authority; and therefore, with the less reserve, and greater assurance of gaining belief, extolled the power and exalted reputation of the Roman people. However, that which had the greatest influence was the hope of recovering Acarnania. The particulars were accordingly reduced to writing, on which they were to join in a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Roman people; and a clause was added, that "if it was agreeable to their own wish, the Eleans and Lacedæmonians should be included on the same terms of friendship, and also Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilædus." Attalus was king of Asia, the others of Thrace and Illyria. The terms of the treaty were, that "the Ætolians should immediately commence war against Philip on land: that the Romans should assist them with not less than twenty ships of five banks of oars: that, of all the cities that should be taken as far as Coreyra, beginning from Ætolia, the buildings of every description, together with the lands thereunto belonging, should be the property of the Ætolians; all other booty, of what kind soever, to be given up to the Romans: that the Romans should use their endeavours to secure to the Ætolians the possession of Acarnania: that, if the Ætolians should make peace with Philip, an article should be inserted in the treaty declaring it valid only on condition that Philip should refrain from committing hostilities on the Romans, their allies, or any under their dominion: in like manner, if the Roman people should form an alliance with the king, that they should take care not to allow him a right of making war on the Ætolians and their allies." Such was the purport of the negotiation entered into by the above-named powers, two copies of which were made two years

young men of the *Ætolians*; and prepared to carry hostilities into *Acarnania*. This nation, conscious of their inability to oppose him, seeing too that the cities of *Æniadæ* and *Nasus* were already lost, and that they were besides threatened with an invasion by the *Romans*, formed a plan of action dictated by passion rather than by prudence. Their wives, children, and all persons above the age of sixty years, they sent away into the neighbouring states of *Epirus*: while all from fifteen to sixty bound themselves to each other by an oath to march against the enemy, and not to return home unless victorious; framing a dreadful execration on such of their countrymen as should receive into their city or house, or admit to their table or fireside, any one who had given way to the foe, or quitted his post in battle. They addressed also a most solemn obtestation, of the same purport, to the states with whom they had an intercourse; beseeching at the same time the *Epirotes* to inter in one common tomb such of their men as should fall in battle, and to fix this epitaph over their graves: "Here lie the *Acarnanians*, who died fighting in defence of their country, against the violence and injustice of the *Ætolians*." With minds highly inflamed by these and such like means, they encamped in the extreme border of their country, on the side where they expected the enemy; and by the despatches which they sent to Philip, representing the great danger that threatened them, obliged him to drop the prosecution of the designs in which he was engaged, although *Jamphorina* had already capitulated, and all his affairs were in a prosperous train. The enterprise intended by the *Ætolians* was postponed, first on their hearing of the association entered into by the *Acarnanians*; and, afterward, on the news of Philip's approach, which made them even draw back into the interior parts of their own country. Philip, however, though he had hastened by long marches to prevent the *Acarnanians* being overwhelmed, yet did not advance further than *Dios*, whence, on hearing that the *Ætolians* had retired from *Acarnania*, he also removed to *Pella*.

26. Early in the spring *Lævinus* set sail from *Corcyra*, and, doubling the cape of *Leucate*, came to *Naupactum*, whence he sent notice that he was proceeding to *Anticyra*, in order that *Scopas* and the *Ætolians* might be there to join him. *Anticyra* stands in *Locris*, on the left hand on entering the *Corinthian gulf*, and the march thither by land is short, as is the passage by sea, from *Naupactum*. In about three days after this, the siege of that town was commenced by the combined forces; but the attack on the side next the sea was the more difficult to be withstood, because there were on board the fleet engines and machines of every sort; and, besides, the assailants were *Romans*. In a few

days, therefore, the city capitulated, and was given up to the Ætolians. The spoil, according to compact, fell to the Romans. Here Lævinus received a letter, acquainting him that he had been declared consul in his absence, and that Publius Sulpicius was coming to succeed him in the command of the fleet. But he was seized by a tedious sickness, which delayed his return to Rome longer than any one wished. Marcus Marcellus, entering on the consulship on the ides of March, [A. U. C. 542. B. C. 210,] held on the same day a meeting of the senate, merely for form's sake, for he declared that "he would introduce nothing respecting the state of the commonwealth, or the distribution of the provinces, in the absence of his colleague. That he understood that there were great numbers of Sicilians in the neighbourhood of the city, at the country houses of persons who wished to depreciate his character; and, so far was he from hindering an open publication of the charges fabricated and circulated by his enemies, that he would have given them instantly an opportunity of laying such charges before the senate, were it not that they pretended some kind of fear to speak of a consul in the absence of his colleague. That, however, when Lævinus arrived, he would certainly suffer no business to be transacted before the Sicilians were introduced to an audience of the senate. That Marcus Cornelius had made a kind of levy through all Sicily, for the purpose of sending to Rome the greater number of complaints against him; and that the same person, with a view to injure his reputation, had by letters filled the city with false representations of war still subsisting in Sicily." The consul's behaviour on that day made people conceive a good opinion of the moderation of his temper. He then adjourned the senate, and it was expected that there would be almost a total suspension of every kind of business until the return of the other consul. Want of employment, as usual, gave occasion to various murmurs among the populace; they made great complaint of "the length of the war; of the devastation of the country by Hannibal on all sides of the city; of Italy being exhausted by levies of men, and of the loss of armies happening almost every year; of consuls being now elected, who, both of them, had a passion for war; men too enterprising and daring, who, in a time of profound peace, were capable of exciting quarrels, and therefore there was the less reason to expect that, during the actual existence of hostilities, they would allow the public time to breathe."

27. These discourses were interrupted by a fire which broke out near the forum, in the night preceding the festival of Minerva. Seven shops

here five were afterward

built, and the banking-houses, which are now called the New Banks, were in flames, in several places at once. Next, the private buildings were consumed, (for the public halls were not then there,) with the prison, called the Quarry, and the fish-market, also the old palace of King Numa. With difficulty the temple of Vesta was saved, principally by the activity of thirteen slaves, who were afterward purchased for the public, and discharged from servitude. The fire raged during a night and a day. There was no doubt of its being caused by human means, the flames blazing out at the same moment, and at considerable distances. The consul, therefore, by direction of the senate, published a proclamation, that whoever discovered the persons that had occasioned the same, such discoverer should receive as a reward, if a freeman, a sum of money, if a slave, his liberty. Induced by this, a slave belonging to the Campanian family of the Calavii, by name Mannus, gave information, that "his masters, and five other young Campanian noblemen, whose parents had been beheaded by Quintus Fulvius, were the perpetrators of the deed, and that they would effect the like destruction in various places, if they were not put into confinement." On this they were taken into custody, as were also their slaves. At first they spoke with scorn of the informer and his discovery: they said "he had run away from his masters, in consequence of having been chastised the day before with a whipping; and, in a fit of resentment and folly, had forged this charge, on the ground of an event merely accidental." But, when they were brought face to face with their accuser, and the instruments of their villany began to be examined by torture, in the middle of the forum, they all confessed their guilt; and the masters, and their slaves who were privy to the design, were punished as they deserved. The informer received his liberty and twenty thousand asses.* The consul Lævinus, as he passed by Capua, was surrounded by a multitude of the Campanians, who besought him, with tears, to give them permission to go to Rome, there to entreat the senate to suffer themselves to be moved at length with compassion; and not to carry resentment so far as to their utter ruin, nor let the whole race of Campanians be extirpated by Quintus Flaccus. Flaccus declared that "he had no personal quarrel whatsoever with the Campanians; a public and hostile enmity he certainly had, and should retain as long as he knew them to harbour the same sentiments towards the Roman people. There was not on earth," he said, "any race, or any state that bore a more inveterate

hatred to the Roman name. The reason of his keeping them confined within the walls was, that when any of them contrived to get out, they roamed about the country like wild beasts, tearing and slaying whatever fell in their way. Some had fled to join Hannibal, others were gone to set Rome on fire, and the consul would find, in the half-burnt forum, the traces of Campanian villany. An attempt had been made even on the temple of Vesta, on the sacred fire, and the fatal pledge of the Roman empire* deposited in her shrine. For his part, he could by no means think it safe to allow the Campanians to enter the walls of Rome." Lævinus, however, ordered the Campanians to follow him thither; having first made them bind themselves by an oath to Flaccus to return to Capua on the fifth day after receiving an answer from the senate. Surrounded by this train, and followed also by the Sicilians and Ætolians, who came out to meet him, he proceeded to Rome, bringing into the city, as accusers of two men, whose characters had been rendered illustrious by the conquest of two very celebrated cities, the parties whom they had vanquished in war. However, both the consuls proposed, first to the consideration of the senate, the state of the commonwealth, and the disposal of the provinces.

28. Lævinus then made a report of the state of Macedonia and Greece, of the Ætolians, Acarnanians, and Locrians, and of the services which he himself had performed there, on land and sea; acquainting them that "Philip, who came with an army against the Ætolians, had been driven back by him into Macedonia, and had retired into the interior parts of his kingdom; and that the legion might be brought home from thence, the fleet being sufficient to prevent any attempt of the king on Italy." This part of the business which respected himself and the province where he had commanded, he went through alone: the questions relative to the distribution of the provinces were put by both consuls jointly. The senate decreed that "Italy and the war with Hannibal should be the province of one of the consuls; that the other should have the command of the fleet lately under that of Titus Otacilius; and, in conjunction with the pretor, Lucius Cincius, the government of Sicily." The two armies decreed to them were those then in Etruria and Gaul, consisting of four legions. The two city legions of the former

* This was the famous Palladium, said to have been brought by Æneas from Troy, and preserved with most religious care in the temple of Vesta. What it was, so sacredly as it kept from the public eye, no one ever certainly knew; supposing it, however, to have resembled the one stolen by Diomed and Ulysses, as mentioned by Sinon in the Æneid, then it must have been an image of Minerva, armed.

year were ordered to be sent into Etruria; the two lately under the command of the consul Sulpicius into Gaul; and Gaul, with these legions, to be governed by such persons as the consul who had the province of Italy should appoint. Caius Calpurnius, being continued in command for a year after the expiration of his pretorship, was sent into Etruria. Capua was appointed the province of Quintus Fulvius, whose command was also prolonged for a year. An order was made, that the numbers both of the native and allied troops should be reduced, so that out of two legions should be formed one, containing five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and that those men should be discharged who had served the greatest number of campaigns; but that in each legion of the allies there should be left seven thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that in discharging the old soldiers, the same rule should be observed respecting the length of their services. With regard to Cneius Fulvius, consul of the last year, no alteration was made, either in his province Apulia, or in the army under his command; only he was continued another year in authority. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was ordered to disband his whole force, excepting the marines; as was Marcus Cornelius, as soon as the consul should arrive in the province. To the pretor, Lucius Cincius, for the defence of Sicily, were assigned the troops of Cannæ, equivalent to two legions. To the pretor, Publius Manlius Volso, were allotted, for the service of Sardinia, the same number of legions which Lucius Cornelius had commanded in the same province the year before. The consuls were ordered to raise legions for the city, but not to oblige any man to enlist who had served in the armies of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus Fulvius; and the number of Roman legions to be employed during that year was fixed at twenty-one.

29. When the senate had passed these decrees, the consuls cast lots for the provinces. Sicily and the fleet fell to Marcellus; Italy, with the war against Hannibal, to Lævinus. This decision, as if Syracuse were now a second time taken, struck the Sicilians, who stood within sight of the consuls, waiting till the lots were drawn, with such dismay, that their bitter lamentations and mournful expressions of grief, attracted the eyes of all present, and afforded afterward much matter of discourse: for they went round to each of the senators, dressed in mourning, and affirming that "they were resolved to abandon, not only each his native state, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should come thither again as governor. Formerly, when they had deserved no harsh treatment at his hands, he had been implacable in his resentment towards them; to what lengths then might not his anger now carry

him, when he knew that they had come to Rome with complaints against him? Better would it be for that island to be buried under the fires of *Ætna*, or sunk in the sea, than to be delivered over as it were to execution at the will of an enemy." These complaints of the Sicilians, after being at first carried about to the houses of the nobility, and canvassed in frequent conversations, which took rise either from compassion to the Sicilians, or ill-will to Marcellus, made their way even into the senate. A requisition was there made to the consuls, that the senate should be consulted on an exchange of provinces. To this Marcellus answered that "though the Sicilians had been already heard by the senate, his opinion might still be different; but in order that no one should be able to say that these people were curbed by fear, or restrained from uttering their complaints with freedom against a man to whose power they were soon to be subject; in the present state of things, if his colleague had no objection, he was ready to change his province." He warmly entreated them "not to prejudge the depending cause by the interposition of any decree: for since it would be unjust to give his colleague his choice of a province without putting it to the lot, how much greater would be the injustice, nay, the indignity, if that which he had obtained by lot were transferred to the other!" Accordingly the senate, after declaring what was their wish, without passing a decree adjourned, and the consuls between themselves made an exchange of provinces. Thus did fate, impending over Marcellus, drag him, as it were, within the sphere of Hannibal; that he who had been the first Roman commander who ravished from that general a large portion of his glory, by defeating him in battle, might be the last who contributed, by his fall, to the aggrandizement of the same man's reputation; and this at a time when the events of the war in general were particularly favourable to the side of the Romans.

30. When the provinces were exchanged, the Sicilians were introduced into the senate, where they expatiated, in many words, on the unalterable attachment of King Hiero to the Roman people, assuming merit from thence to themselves and their nation. "As to the tyrants, Hieronymus, and, after him, Hippocrates and Epicydes, they themselves had ever detested them," they said, "for many reasons, but particularly for taking part with Hannibal against the Romans. For this cause Hieronymus was put to death by the principal young men of the nation, authorized, in a manner, by the public voice. Seventy of their youths, of the highest distinction, had conspired, on the account, to kill Hippocrates and Epicydes, but were appointed of the support which they expected from Marcellus, by a delay in the bringing up of his army to Syracuse, at the time agreed on;

so that their design being discovered, they were all put to death by the tyrants. Even the tyrannical usurpation of Hippocrates and Epicydes owed its beginning to the cruelty practised by Marcellus in the sacking of Leontini. The principal Syracusans, alarmed at this, never ceased afterward imploring Marcellus, and promising to deliver the city into his hands at any time that he chose to appoint: but his wish was to take it by assault. Finding, however, after every effort which could be made on land or sea, that this was impracticable, he chose to depend on Sosis, a brazier, and Mericus, a Spaniard, for putting him in possession of Syracuse, rather than on the first men of the city, who had so often, to no purpose, voluntarily made the same offer; in order no doubt that he might have the more plausible excuse for plundering and massacring the oldest allies of the Roman people. If the defection to Hannibal had been the act, not of Hieronymus, but of the senate and people of Syracuse; if the body of the Syracusans, and not their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, who held them in subservience to their will, had shut the gates against Marcellus; if they had waged war against the Roman people with the animosity of Carthaginians, to what greater length could Marcellus have carried hostilities than he did, unless he were to demolish the city? He certainly left nothing at Syracuse except the walls and empty houses, while the temples were broken open and pillaged, and from which the ornaments of the gods, and even the gods themselves, had been carried away. Many were stripped of their whole possessions, so as not to have remaining, from the wreck of their fortunes, even the naked soil, out of which they might support themselves and their families. Wherefore they besought the conscript fathers to order restoration to be made to the owners, if not of all their property, at least of such part of it as could be found and claimed on proof." When they had uttered their complaints in this manner, and were ordered by Lævinus to withdraw from the senate-house, that the members might deliberate on the subject of their demands: "No," said Marcellus, "let them stay, that I may answer in their hearing, since, conscript fathers, such are the terms on which we serve in your wars, that the parties whom we conquer by our arms are to become our prosecutors, and two cities, taken this year, are to prosecute their captors—Capua, Fulvius, and Syracuse, Marcellus."

31. The deputies being brought back into the senate-house, the consul then said: "Conscript fathers, I am not so unmindful of the majesty of the Roman people, and of the high office with which I am invested, as that I should, while bearing the dignity of a consul, appear as a defendant to

answer charges made by Greeks, if the subject of the present inquiry were merely respecting misconduct on my part. But the question is, not what I have done, but rather what those men deserved at my hands: for, if they were not our enemies, I should be equally blameable for injuring Syracuse now, as when Hiero was alive. But, if they renounced our alliance, attacked our ambassadors with violence and arms, shut the gates of their city, and called in an army of Carthaginians to defend it against us; who can think it unreasonable that men who committed hostilities should have suffered them in turn? I rejected the offers of the principal Syracusans to give me possession of the city, it is true; I chose rather to confide, in a case so important, solely in Sosis, and the Spaniard Mericus. You are not the meanest of the Syracusans, since you object meanness to others. Now, is there one among you, whoever promised to open the gates to me, or to admit my armed troops into the city? You execrate and abhor those who did; and do not, even here, abstain from reviling them: so far is it from being fact, that yourselves would have done the same. The low condition of the persons employed, which these men make a matter of reproach, shows, conscript fathers, how ready I was to listen to the offers of any man who was willing to exert himself in the service of our state. Before I commenced the siege of Syracuse, I tried to effect a restoration of tranquillity, at one time by sending ambassadors, at another time, by going myself to treat on the subject; and, afterward, when they neither scrupled to offer violence to my ambassadors, nor would give any answer to myself in a personal interview with their leaders at the gates, I then, after surmounting many difficulties on land and sea, at length took Syracuse by force of arms. Of the consequences which befell them on the capture of their city, they might with more propriety complain to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and to their companions in defeat, than to the senate of the nation which conquered them. Conscript fathers, if I had intended to deny that Syracuse was plundered, I would never have decorated the city of Rome with its spoils. As to what I, in capacity of a conqueror, either took from individuals, or bestowed on any, I am fully confident that I acted in those respects agreeably both to the laws of war and to the deserts of each. That you ratify these proceedings, conscript fathers, concerns the interest of the republic more than that of mine. My duty to the commonwealth that you do not, by rescinding my acts, has been discharged with in future remiss. And now, conscript fathers, as you have heard both the Sicilians and me to face, we will retire to—

gether from your house, that the senators may in my absence deliberate with the greater freedom." The Sicilians were accordingly dismissed, and he went away to the capitol to enlist soldiers.

32. The other consul then required the determination of the fathers respecting the demands of the Sicilians; on which a long and warm debate ensued. A great part of the senate, adopting an opinion introduced by Titus Manlius Torquatus, declared that "in their judgment the war ought to have been waged against the tyrants, who were equal enemies to the Syracusans and to the Roman people; that the city ought to have been recovered by treaty, not taken by force; and, when recovered, should have been re-established in freedom under its ancient laws, and not subjected to the calamities of war, after having been long harassed under a wretched slavery. In the contests between the tyrants and the Roman general, the prize proposed to the conqueror had been utterly destroyed, a city of the greatest beauty and fame, formerly the granary and treasury of the Roman people; one by whose generosity and munificence the republic had, on many occasions of difficulty, and lately, in the present Carthaginian war, been assisted, honoured, and adorned. If King Hiero, that most faithful friend to the interests of the Roman empire, were to rise from the shades, with what face could either Syracuse or Rome be shown to him? When, after beholding his native city in its plundered and half-demolished state, he should, on coming into Rome, see at the entrance of it, almost in the very gates, the spoils of his own country?" Although these, and many such warm expressions, tending to disparage the character of Marcellus, and excite compassion for the Sicilians, were uttered by the members, yet the senate, through their regard for Marcellus, pursued a milder course in forming their decree; the purport of which was, that "all acts done by him in his administration of the war, and after his final success therein, should be deemed valid. In respect of the time to come, the senate would take care of the concerns of Syracuse, and would give a charge to the consul Lævinus to promote the prosperity of that city, as far as could be done without detriment to the commonwealth." Two senators were sent to the capitol to desire the consul to come back to the senate-house; and, the Sicilians also being called in, the decree was read. The deputies, after receiving assurances of kindness, were dismissed; and they then threw themselves at the feet of the consul Marcellus, beseeching him to pardon the expressions which they had used, for the purpose of procuring pity and relief of their misfortunes, and to receive them and the city of Syracuse into his protection

and patronage. The consul returned a mild answer, and dismissed them.

33. The senate next gave audience to the Campanians, who spoke in a more piteous strain, but had a more difficult cause to plead; for neither could they deny that they had deserved the punishments inflicted, nor were there tyrants in the case, on whom they could transfer the guilt. They only alleged that they had suffered enough of punishment, in so many senators being taken off by poison, and so many by the executioner. That, "of their nobles, only a few remained alive, whom neither consciousness of crime had driven to acts of despair, nor the resentment of their conqueror condemned to death; who, in behalf of themselves and their families, prayed for liberty, and some portion of their property; being citizens of Rome, and most of them closely connected there in affinities and near relationships, in consequence of the frequent intermarriages which took place during a long series of years." They were then ordered to withdraw, and the senators were for some time in doubt whether Quintus Fulvius should not be called home from Capua, (for the other proconsul, Claudius, had died after the taking of the place,) in order that the matter might be discussed in the presence of the commander, as had been done in the case of Marcellus and the Sicilians. But afterward, seeing in the house Marcus Atilius, and Flaccus' brother, Caius Fulvius, who had been lieutenant-generals under him; also Quintus Minucius and Lucius Veturius Philo, who had held the same commission under Claudius,—men who had been present at every transaction; and being unwilling either to recall Fulvius from Capua, or to delay the Campanians by an adjournment, they desired to hear the sentiments of Marcus Atilius Regulus, whom they deemed superior in judgment to any of the rest who had been at Capua; and he spoke to this effect: "I recollect attending the consuls, in council, after the reduction of Capua, when inquiry was made whether any of the Campanians had deserved well of our state; when it was discovered that two women had done so, Vestia Oppia, a native of Atilla, resident in Capua, and Fancula Cluvia, formerly a courtesan; the former having daily offered sacrifice for the safety and success of the Roman people, the latter having secretly conveyed food to the starving prisoners. But it was at the same time found that the disposition of all the rest of the Campanians towards us was precisely that of the Carthaginians; yet those beheaded by Fulvius were not the most criminal among them, but the most eminent in rank. How the senate can determine on the case of one of the people, I do not see Roman citizens, without an order

This rule was observed by our ancestors, in respect of the revolted Satricans, and measures were taken that Marcus Antistius, plebeian tribune, should first propose, and the commons pass, an order empowering the senate to decide finally in the affair of that people. My opinion therefore is, that application be made to the tribunes of the commons, that one or more of them may propose to the people an order authorizing us to determine concerning the Campanians." By direction of the senate, Lucius Atilius, a plebeian tribune, made the proposition accordingly in these words: "Concerning all the Campanians, Atellans, Calatians, Sabatians, who have surrendered themselves to Fulvius, proconsul, and submitted to the power and dominion of the Roman people; also concerning whatsoever they may have given up, whether land, city, divine or human property; with respect to all these things, I ask you, Roman citizens, what you choose should be done?" The commons passed this order: "Whatsoever the senate, being first sworn, or the majority of its members then present, may determine, that we will and order."

34. In pursuance of this order of the people the senate took the business into consideration; and, in the first place, restored to Oppia and Cluvia their liberty and effects, with directions, that "if they wished to ask any other reward from the senate, they should come to Rome." Separate decrees were passed respecting the several families of the Campanians, all of which it would be useless to enumerate. The properties of some were ordered to be confiscated; themselves, their wives, and children, to be sold, excepting such of their daughters as had been placed in marriage before they came into the power of the Roman people. Others were ordered to be kept in close confinement, and their cases to be considered at a future time. They also made distinct estimates of the possessions of others, in order to determine whether they should be forfeited or not. They voted that all the cattle seized, except the horses; all the slaves, except grown-up males; and every thing which did not appertain to the soil, should be restored to the owners. They ordered that all the Campanians, Atellans, Calatians, and Sabatians, exclusive of those who, themselves or their parents, were then among the enemy, should be free; with the restriction that none of them should be capable of becoming a Roman citizen, or a Latine confederate; and that none of those who had been in Capua while the gates were shut should remain beyond a certain day in the city or territory thereof. They voted that a place of habitation should be assigned to those people beyond the Tiber, and not contiguous to it: that such as had neither been in Capua during

the war, nor in any Campanian city which had revolted from the Roman people, should be removed to the other side of the river Liris, next to Rome; and those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal came to Capua, to the hither side of the Volturnus: that none of them should have land or house nearer to the sea than fifteen miles: that, as to those who should be transplanted to the farther side of the Tiber, neither themselves nor their posterity should purchase or possess property in any other place than in the Veientian, Sutrian, or Nepetian territories; nor should any possess a greater extent of ground than fifty acres: that the property of all the senators, and of those who had held public employments at Capua, Atella, or Calatia, should be sold at Capua; but that the men of free condition, who, according to the order passed, were likewise to be set up to sale, should be sent to Rome. The images and brazen statues, which were said to have been taken from the enemy, whether they were sacred or private property, they left to the disposal of the college of pontiffs. They then dismissed the Campanians, whose distress and affliction were increased by these determinations beyond what they had felt at their coming to Rome, and who exclaimed no longer against Fulvius's cruelty towards them, but against the rigorous severity of the gods, and their own accursed fortune.

35. After the Sicilians and Campanians were dismissed, a levy of troops was made; and, as soon as that was finished, the business of procuring a supply of rowers for the fleet came under consideration. As there was neither a sufficiency of men for this purpose, nor any money, at that time, in the treasury to purchase or pay them, the consuls published an edict, that private persons should, as on former occasions, in proportion to their fortunes and stations, supply rowers with pay and subsistence for thirty days. This edict caused such loud murmurs and such ill-humour among the people, that a leader, rather than matter, was wanting to produce an open insurrection. It was said that "the consuls, after they had done with the Sicilians and Campanians, had taken the Roman commons in hand to harass and ruin them: that, after being exhausted by paying taxes for so many years, they had nothing left but land, and that naked and waste. Their houses the enemy had burned; the slaves, who ought to till the ground, the state had taken away, sometimes purchasing them for soldiers at a trifling price, at others ordering them to serve as rowers. If any one had a little silver or brass, he was obliged to part with it to pay rowers and the public duties. As to themselves, no authority, no force, could compel them to give what they had not. The consuls might sell their goods, and

vent their cruelty on their persons, which were all that remained: nor had they any thing wherewith they could even redeem or save themselves from such treatment." These discontented expressions were uttered, not in private, but openly in the forum, and in the presence of the consuls themselves, by immense multitudes that stood around them; nor were the consuls able, either by reproof or consolation, to pacify them. It was at length determined to give them three days to consider of these matters; and this time they themselves employed in procuring information, and contriving the best mode of proceeding. On the following day they held a meeting of the senate on the subject of a supply of rowers, and after using many arguments to show that the remonstrances of the commons were but reasonable, they changed the tenor of their discourse so far as to say, that "this burden, whether reasonable or unreasonable, must be imposed on the private citizens. How could the fleets be otherwise manned, as there was no money in the treasury; and, without fleets, how could Sicily be kept in obedience, Philip be kept out of Italy, or the coasts of Italy protected?"

36. In circumstances of such extreme perplexity deliberation was of little avail, and a kind of torpor possessed men's faculties, until the consul Lævinus addressed them thus: "As the magistrates in point of dignity precede the senate, and the senate the people, so ought they to take the lead in undergoing every thing burdensome and difficult. When you wish to enjoin any task on inferiors, if you impose the same duty on yourself and your connexions, you will find those inferiors the more ready to obey. Nor is an expense deemed heavy, when people see those of the highest ranks take on themselves more than their proportion of it. Do we wish, then, that the Roman people should have a fleet, and the means of equipping it? That private citizens should, without murmuring, supply rowers? Let us enforce the edict first on ourselves. Let us, senators, lodge to-morrow in the public treasury all our gold, silver, and coined brass; each reserving of the gold, rings for himself, his wife, and children, and a bulla for his son; and he who has a wife and daughters, an ounce weight for each, out of the silver; and for those who have sat in a curule chair, let them have the ornaments of a horse, and a pound weight of silver, that they may not be without a salt-cellar and a dish to be used in the worship of the gods. To the other senators, only a pound of silver and five thousand asses of brass coin should be allowed, that is, for every father of a family. All the rest of our gold, silver, and coined brass,

let us at once convey to the receivers of the public money, before we pass any decree, that our voluntary contribution, and the ardour of our zeal in aiding the republic, may excite a spirit of emulation in the equestrian order first, and then in the people in general. This is the only equitable way of which my colleague and myself, after much conversation on the subject, have been able to discover; adopt it, then, and may the gods be propitious to you! The safety of the commonwealth effectually ensures the safety of private property; if you abandon the interest of the republic, you will in vain attempt to preserve your own." This scheme was received with warm and unanimous approbation, insomuch that the thanks of the body were returned to the consuls. The senate was then adjourned, and all the members immediately hastened to bring in their gold, silver, and brass to the treasury, and this with such ardour of emulation, that while each pressed to have his name among the first in the public registers, the commissioners were not able to receive, nor the clerks to enter, the contributions. The zeal and unanimity displayed by the senate were copied by the equestrian order, and, after them, by the commons. Thus, without any edict, without any authoritative act of magistracy, the state was provided with a sufficient supply of rowers, and also with a fund for their support; and every preparation for the campaign being finished, the consuls set out for their respective provinces.

37. At no period of the war did both the Romans and the Carthaginians feel a greater vicissitude of hopes and fears; such an intermixture of events, of opposite natures, taking place alike on both sides: for on that of the Romans, with regard to the provinces, the misfortunes in Spain on the one hand, and the successes in Sicily on the other, produced a mixture of sorrow and rejoicing; and in Italy, as the loss of Tarentum was injurious and grievous, so the citadel and garrison being preserved, beyond expectation, was matter of joy: while, in like manner, the sudden terror and panic caused by the investiture and attack of the city of Rome were in a few days converted into triumph by the reduction of Capua. Affairs beyond sea were also balanced in a kind of counterpoise. Philip became their enemy at a juncture very far from seasonable; but then they acquired new allies in the Ætolians, and in Attalus, king of Asia; Fortune thus early pledging her promise, as it were, to the Romans, for the empire of the east. On the side of the Carthaginians, likewise, the loss of Capua was counterbalanced by the acquisition of Tarentum. And, as they valued themselves highly on the honour of having advanced to the walls of the city of Rome without opposition, so they were grieved

at the failure of their design, and felt ashamed at being slighted to such a degree, as that, while they lay under the walls of Rome, a Roman army should have marched out, from another quarter of the city, for Spain. With regard also to Spain itself, as they thought they had good reason to hope that, in consequence of the destruction of two renowned generals and powerful armies, the war there would be at an end, and the Romans expelled the country, so their mortification was the greater in proportion on finding that Lucius Marcias, a leader who owed his post to the irregular voice of the multitude, had rendered their victory insignificant and fruitless. Thus, Fortune holding the scales even, every thing on both sides hung in suspense, and the parties retained their hopes unabated, and their fears unallayed, just as if they were now first commencing the war.

38. One circumstance, above all, filled Hannibal's mind with the most painful reflections; it was, that in consequence of the Romans having prosecuted the siege of Capua with so much more determined resolution than he had exerted for its relief, many of the states of Italy had conceived sentiments very unfavourable to his cause. He found it impossible to maintain his authority over all of these by force, unless he were to break down his army into a great number of small detachments, which would very ill suit his condition at the time; nor could he leave the fidelity of allies open to the solicitations of hope, or the threatenings of fear. Wherefore, as his mind had from nature a strong bias to avarice and cruelty, he determined to plunder the places which he could not keep, and so leave them to the enemy in a state of desolation. This scheme, so dishonourable in its purpose, proved equally so in its consequences; for it alienated from him the affections not only of the persons so greatly aggrieved, but likewise of all the rest; this specimen of his character extending its influence far beyond the numbers involved in the calamity. The Roman consul, at the same time, was not remiss in making trials of the disposition of every city where any prospect of success appeared. In Salapia there were two leading men, Dasius and Blasius: the former was a friend to Hannibal; the latter, as far as he could with safety, favoured the interest of the Romans, and, by means of secret emissaries, had given Marcellus hopes of having the place betrayed to him; but this was a measure which, without the concurrence of Dasius, could not be effected. After long and anxious deliberation, and then, rather from want of a more promising plan than hope of succeeding, he opened the proposition to Dasius. But he, being both averse from the design and glad also of an opportunity of injuring his competitor for

power, disclosed the affair to Hannibal, who summoned them both before him; and, while he was employed on his tribunal in despatching some other business, intending presently to attend to that of Blasius, the accuser and accused both standing together in a spot cleared for them by the people, Blasius began to urge Dasius on the subject of surrendering the town. On which the latter, as if the matter now proved itself, exclaimed, that the other was attempting to seduce him to treachery even in Hannibal's immediate presence. To Hannibal, and to those who were present, the more audacious the fact charged on Blasius was, the less credible it appeared. They knew that there was an emulation and hatred subsisting between the two, and supposed that an imputation of this kind was alleged, because, as from its nature it could not be supported by the testimony of witnesses, it was the more likely to be false. The parties were therefore dismissed; but Blasius, notwithstanding what had passed, never desisted from this bold undertaking, until by incessant teasing on the same subject, and proving how advantageous such a measure would be to themselves and their country, he extorted the other's consent that Salapia, and the Carthaginian garrison, which consisted of five hundred Numidians, should be delivered up to Marcellus. This, however, could not be effected without considerable bloodshed; for these Numidians were much the bravest body of cavalry in the whole Carthaginian army, and this was an occurrence which it was impossible for them to foresee. But though they could not, in the city, make use of their horses, yet, on the tumult arising, they hastily took arms, and attempted to make their way out; when, finding an escape impracticable, they sold their lives dear, fighting to the last; nor did more than fifty of their whole number fall alive into the hands of the Salapians. The loss of this body of cavalry was a much severer blow to Hannibal than that of the place, for thenceforward the Carthaginians were never superior in cavalry, which they had hitherto always been.

39. At this time the scarcity in the citadel of Tarentum became almost intolerable. Marcus Livius, commander of the Roman garrison there, relied entirely for supplies on Sicily; and to secure to these a safe passage along the coast of Italy, a fleet of twenty ships had been stationed at Rhegium. The charge of the fleet and provisions was intrusted to Decius Quintus, a man of obscure birth, but who, by many brave actions, had acquired a large share of military fame. At first he had only five ships, the largest of which were two triremes, given him by Marcellus; afterwards, when he was known to have behaved on many occasions with much spirit

and bravery, he received a reinforcement of three quinqueremes: at last he himself, by exacting from the confederate states of Rhegium, Velia, and Pæstum, the ships due by treaty, had made up a fleet of twenty sail, as above mentioned. Having with this fleet set sail from Rhegium, he was met at Sacriportus, about fifteen miles from the city, by Democrates, with an equal number of Tarentine ships. The Roman was coming to the relief of the garrison, not supposing it probable that he should meet an enemy: from Croton and Sybaris, however, he had furnished his ships with their full complement of rowers; and, besides, considering the size of his vessels, they were exceedingly well equipped and armed. It so happened that, just when the Tarentine came in sight, the wind entirely died away, a circumstance which gave him full time to adjust the rigging, and put the rowers and soldiers in readiness for the battle that was to follow. They engaged with a degree of ardour seldom shown by complete fleets, because the objects for which they contended were of more importance than the fleets themselves. The Tarentines, having recovered their city from the Romans, at the end of almost one hundred years, struggled now to deliver the citadel also from subjection; knowing that if, by the exertions of their fleet, they should take from the enemy the dominion of the sea, they would be thereby effectually excluded from even a distant hope of provisions: the Romans, on the other hand, laboured, by retaining possession of the citadel, to show the world that the loss of the city was owing, not to the strength or valour of assailants, but to artifice and treachery. The signal then being given on both sides, they charged each other with the beaks of their vessels; and none, during the conflict, either drew back his own ship, or suffered his adversary to get clear of him, but held it by throwing in an iron grapple: and thus the engagement became so close, that they fought, not only with missile weapons, but with swords, and almost hand to hand. The prows, being lashed together, remained unmoved, while the sterns were turned round by the force of their adversaries' oars. The ships were crowded so close together, and within so narrow a place, that scarcely any weapon fell without effect into the sea. They pressed front against front, like lines of land forces, and the combatants could pass from one ship to another. But there was one conflict remarkable above the rest, between two which engaged in the van: in the Roman ship was Quintius himself; in the Tarentine, Nico, surnamed Perco, who bitterly hated, and was hated by the Romans, not only in consequence of the public quarrel, but also of personal resentment; for he was one of that faction which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. This man, while Quintius

was encouraging his men, and at the same time fighting, and off his guard, darted a spear through his body, and he fell headlong with his armour into the sea: then the victorious Tarentine boldly leaped into the ship, where the loss of the commander had thrown all into confusion, and they quickly retired before him. The forepart of the ship was now in possession of the Tarentines, while the Romans, in a compact body, with difficulty defended the poop; when another trireme of the enemy suddenly appeared at the stern, and the Roman ship, thus enclosed between the two, was taken. The rest, on seeing this, were struck with dismay, and fled, in different directions. Some were sunk in the deep, and others, being run aground by the rowers, soon became a prey to the Thurians and Metapontines. Of the store-ships, which followed with the provisions, a few fell into the enemy's hands; the remainder stood away into the main, and escaped by shifting their sails with every change of the wind. In the mean time the fortune of affairs at Tarentum was not at all the same; for a party, amounting to four thousand men, having gone out to forage, spreading themselves up and down the country, Livius, the commander of the Roman garrison, who carefully watched every opportunity of acting to advantage, sent out from the citadel Cains Persius, an active and brave officer, with two thousand soldiers. He fell on the enemy while they were scattered widely, and in small parties; and, after continuing for a long time to cut them off, drove the small remainder of this large detachment to the city, where they were admitted through the gates half opened, lest the Romans should enter along with them and become masters of it. Thus the affairs of Tarentum were equally balanced, the Romans being victorious on land, the Tarentines by sea. Both were disappointed alike in their hopes of provisions, even after they had actually come within their sight.

40. About this time, after a great part of the year had elapsed, and he had been long wished for by both the old and new allies, the consul Lævinus arrived in Sicily, where he judged that the first and most material business to be done was the regulating the affairs of Syracuse, which had not yet been reduced into order in the short space since the late pacification. He then led his legions to Agrigentum, which was the only place still in arms, and held by a strong garrison of Carthaginians; and there fortune favoured his enterprise. The Carthaginians, however, commanded by Hanno, but placed their whole dependence on Mutines and the Numidians. The latter, making frequent excursions through every part of Sicily, carried off the allies of the Romans; and neither force nor

Agrigentum, nor hinder him from sallying forth whenever he thought proper. The high reputation which he thus acquired, as it obscured the fame of the commander-in-chief, excited his envy; so that even success, because obtained by his means, afforded but little pleasure to Hanno, who at last took from him his commission, and gave it to his own son; thinking that, by divesting him of the command, he should deprive him of his popularity among the Numidians. But the effect was widely different; for, by this discovery of his jealousy, he increased their attachment to Mutines, who did not tamely submit to the indignity of this undeserved ill-treatment, but quickly despatched secret emissaries to Lævinus, to treat about the surrender of the town. Through these, mutual assurances were given, and the method of accomplishing the business concerted; and then the Numidians, dislodging or killing the guards, seized a gate which opened towards the sea, and received a party of Romans sent thither for the purpose. When these were already marching into the heart of the city and the forum, with much noise and tumult, Hanno, thinking that it was nothing more than such a disturbance and secession of the Numidians as had happened before, came out to quell the mutiny: but observing at a distance that the number was greater than that of those forces, and hearing the Roman shout, with which he was not unacquainted, he resolved, before he came within reach of their weapons, to betake himself to flight. Getting out of the town at an opposite gate, he took Epicydes with him, and came with a small number to the sea-side. There they luckily found a bark, and abandoning to the enemy the island of Sicily, about which a contest had been maintained through so many years, passed over to Africa. The rest of the Carthaginians and Sicilians attempted to fly with blind precipitation, but the gates being closed they were cut to pieces. Lævinus, on gaining possession of the town, scourged and beheaded those who had been in the management of the affairs of Agrigentum: the rest he sold, together with the spoil, and remitted all the money to Rome. Accounts of the sufferings of the Agrigentines spreading through all Sicily, produced at once a general revolution in favour of the Romans. In a short time twenty towns were betrayed to them, six taken by storm, and forty put themselves under their protection by voluntary surrender. To the leading men in these states the consul dispensed rewards and punishments according to the merits and demerits of each; and having compelled the Sicilians at length to lay aside arms, and turn their thoughts to agriculture, that the island might, from its fertile soil, not only afford plenty of subsistence to the inhabitants, but, as it had

done on many occasions formerly, contribute supplies of provisions to Rome, and even to all Italy, he left Sicily, carrying with him a large multitude from Agathyrna. This was a motley rabble, four thousand in number, composed of vagabonds of every description, exiles and bankrupts, the greater part guilty of capital crimes; who, even when they lived in their native countries under the government of laws, and afterward, when a similarity of condition, arising from various causes, had drawn them together to Agathyrna, always supported themselves by robberies and rapines. Such men as these, so likely to excite new disturbances, the consul thought it unsafe to leave behind, in an island which had but just then obtained rest from intestine wars, and where the people were but beginning to unite in the terms of concord established by the late pacification: besides, they might prove useful to the people of Rhegium, who wanted a band trained to robberies, for the purpose of ravaging the territories of Bruttium. Thus, so far as concerned Sicily, this year put an end to hostilities.

41. In Spain, Publius Scipio, as soon as the spring appeared, launched his ships; summoned to Tarraco, by an edict, the auxiliary troops of the allies, and then directed the fleets and transports to proceed to the mouth of the river Iberus. This place he also appointed for the meeting of the legions whom he ordered out of winter-quarters; and he himself, attended by five thousand men of the allied troops, set out from Tarraco to join the army. When he arrived at the camp, thinking it proper to say something encouraging to the soldiers, particularly those who had been longest in the province, and had survived so many and so great disasters, he called them together, and addressed them in this manner: "Never has there been a new commander, except myself, who could with justice and propriety give thanks to his soldiers before he had employed them. Fortune laid me under obligations to you ere I saw your camp, or knew my province; first, because you showed such dutiful respect to my father and uncle, during their lives, and since their deaths; and next, because, when the possession of the province had been lost by a dreadful calamity, you recovered it by your bravery, and have preserved it entire for the Roman people, and for me, who succeed to the command. But as, through the bounty of the gods, the design of our present proceedings is not to maintain our own footing in Spain, but to deprive the Carthaginians of all footing in it; not to stand on the bank of the Iberus, and hinder the enemy from passing it, but to pass over ourselves, and carry the war to the other side, I fear lest, to some of you, the undertaking may seem too great

and too bold, considering the remembrance of our late misfortunes, and my early time of life. There is no person living from whose memory the defeats in Spain can less be obliterated than from mine; for there my father and uncle lost their lives within the space of thirty days; so that funerals in our family followed one another in quick succession. But while the disasters which bereft our house of parents, and left me almost the only surviving member of it, depresses my mind with grief, still the fortune of our nation, and its courageous spirit, forbid me to despair of the public welfare. It is the lot assigned to us, by some kind of fatality, that, in all important wars, we should pass through defeat to victory. Omitting instances in ancient times, the case of Porsena, the Gauls, and the Samnites, I shall begin with the Punic wars. In the last, how many fleets, how many generals, how many armies, were lost? Need I mention the like events during the present war? At all the defeats I was either present in person, or lamented more deeply than any other those from which I was absent. The Trebia, the Thrasymenus, Cannæ, what are they but monuments of Roman consuls and armies slain? Then the defection of Italy, of the greater part of Sicily, of Sardinia; the extreme terror and affright when Hannibal's camp was pitched between the Apio and the walls of Rome, and that victorious commander was seen at our very gates. But amidst this general ruin of affairs the courage of the Roman people alone stood unshaken and immoveable. This, when all other hopes lay prostrate on the ground, raised and supported them. And, first of all, you, soldiers, under the conduct and auspices of my father, withstood Hasdrubal when, after the defeat at Cannæ, he was on his way to the Alps and to Italy; where, if he had effected a junction with his brother, the Roman name would not now have been in existence: but the successes obtained here have counterbalanced the losses sustained in other places. At present, through the good favour of the gods, affairs in Italy and Sicily are in a prosperous train, daily improving, and wearing a more favourable aspect. In Sicily, Syracuse and Agrigentum have been taken, the enemy entirely expelled the island, and the province restored to the dominion of the Roman people. In Italy, Arpi has been recovered, Capua taken: Hannibal, after a disorderly fight through his whole route from the city of Rome, has been obliged to retreat into the remotest corner of Bruttium, where he prays to the gods for nothing more than that he may be permitted to withdraw in safety, and quit the land of his enemy. Could there then, soldiers, be a greater inconsistency than that, when disasters were thus crowded one on another, and the gods them-

selves seemed, in a manner, to take part with Hannibal, you, with my parents, (for I will mention both under the same revered name,) supported here the tottering fortune of the Roman people; and that now, when in other quarters every event is prosperous and joyful, you should let your courage sink? As to the events which have lately happened, I wish they had passed without giving me more cause of mourning than they have given you. Now, however, the immortal gods, the guardians of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries with the resolution of ordering the command to be given to me, by their auguries and auspices, and by visions in the night, portend all prosperity and joy. My own mind, likewise, which has hitherto been my surest prophet, presages that Spain is to be ours; that the whole Carthaginian race will soon be banished hence, and spread themselves over the lands and seas in their ignominious flight. What my mind prognosticates from its own feelings, the same is suggested by reason, and supported by arguments of no delusive nature. Their allies, disgusted by their ill treatment, send ambassadors to implore our protection; their three commanders having quarrelled to such a degree as almost to come to open hostilities, have divided their army into three parts, and drawn these asunder into countries the most remote from each other. The same fortune now impends over them which formerly crushed us; for they are deserted by their confederates, as we were formerly by the Celtiberians; and they have divided their forces, which was the cause of destruction to my father and uncle. Intestine discord will hinder them from acting together again; nor will they, separately, be able to resist us. Only do you, soldiers, preserve your attachment to the name of Scipio, to the offspring of your own commanders; a branch, as it were, shooting forth from the trunks which have been felled. You, veteran soldiers, lead your new commander, and your young associates, over the Iberus; lead us into those lands where you have often marked your route with many deeds of valour. Trust me, you shall soon find that the resemblance which you suppose you see in me to my father and uncle, is not confined to figure, countenance, and features; but that I inherit no small portion of their capacity, their honour, and their courage; these you shall find so faithfully copied from the original, that every man of you shall say, that his own commander, Scipio, has either returned to life, or has been born again."

42. Having by this discourse animated the courage of his men, and leaving three thousand foot and three hundred horse, under Marcus Silanus, for the defence of the province, he marched the rest of his forces, which amounted to

twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, over the Iberus. Although many now advised that, as the Carthaginian armies were separated at so great distances, he should attack the one that lay nearest; yet, apprehending that such a step would probably make them all reunite, and that he should not, alone, be able to cope with the three armies, he determined for the present to employ his forces in an attack on New Carthage, a city which possessed great wealth of its own, and was besides, at that time, filled with the enemy's magazines of every kind, for the use of the war; there were lodged their arms, their money, and their hostages from all the states of Spain. It was, also, most conveniently situated for a passage into Africa, having a harbour sufficiently capacious for any fleet whatever, and, there is reason to think, the only one in all that tract of the Spanish coast which joins our sea. No one in the whole army knew the destination of its march except Caius Lælius. He was sent round with the fleet, and ordered so to regulate the sailing of it, that the army should come within view, and the ships enter the harbour, at the same point of time. On the seventh day after leaving the Iberus, the fleet and army arrived, as had been concerted, at Carthage; the camp was pitched on the northern side of the city, and a rampart was thrown up in the rear of it, the front being secured by the nature of the ground. The situation of Carthage is this: about the middle of the coast of Spain is a bay, which is open to the southwest wind more than to any other, and stretches inland two thousand five hundred paces, spreading in breadth to an extent somewhat greater. In the mouth of this bay lies a small island, which breaks the force of the sea, and renders the harbour secure from all winds except the southwest: from the bottom of the bay there runs out a peninsula, consisting of high land, on which the city is built, and this is surrounded on the east and south by the sea; on the west it is enclosed by a morass, which spreads a little way towards the north, and whose depth is variable according as the sea overflows or ebbs. The city is connected with the continent by an isthmus, about two hundred and fifty paces broad; on which, though a fortification would have cost but little labour, the Roman general did not raise any, choosing either to mortify the enemy by this display of confidence, or, as he would often have occasion to advance to the walls, to have a retreat open.

43. When he had completed his works in those parts which required defence, he drew up the ships in the harbour in order of battle, with intent to dispirit the enemy with the sight of a marine force also to be employed against the town; then going round the fleet in a boat, he charged the

commanders to keep the night-watches with great care, because an enemy, when he is first besieged, is apt to make every effort in every quarter. He then went back to the camp, and wishing to explain to the soldiers his reason for preferring this plan of opening the campaign with the siege of a town, and by exhortations to inspire them with hopes of reducing it, he called them to an assembly, and spoke to this effect: "Soldiers, if any man among you shall suppose that you have been brought hither for the sole purpose of attacking a single city, he will judge merely from the work in which you are employed, without taking into calculation the advantages to accrue from it: for you will, in fact, attack the walls of one city; but, in that one city, you will capture all Spain. Here are the hostages of all her illustrious kings and states; and, as soon as these shall be in your power, they will instantly deliver up to our disposal every thing which is now under subjection to the Carthaginians. Here is deposited the enemy's treasure, without which they cannot proceed in the war, having mercenary troops to maintain; and which at the same time will be most serviceable to us, as the means of conciliating the friendship of the barbarians. Here are their engines, arms, accoutrements, and all their warlike stores, which, while they answer our purposes, will leave the enemy destitute. Besides, we shall gain possession of a city of distinguished beauty and opulence, and highly convenient to us on account of its excellent harbour, by means of which we can have constant supplies, both from sea and land, of every thing requisite for the maintenance of the war. And while we acquire to ourselves these great advantages, we shall at the same time strip the enemy of much greater. This is their grand fortress; this is their granary, their treasury, their armoury; this is the repository of all their wealth. Hence there is a direct passage into Africa: this is the only station for a fleet between the Pyrenees and Gades, and from hence Africa spreads its terror over all Spain. But as I perceive that you are arrayed and marshalled for action, let us pass on, and assault New Carthage with our whole strength, with confidence, and courage." To this they all replied with a loud voice, "that they would do so;" and he immediately led them to the city, giving orders for the assault both by sea and land.

44. On the other side, Mago, the commander of the Carthaginians, when he saw the preparations for an assault going forward both on land and sea, disposed his forces in the following manner: opposite to the Roman camp he drew up two thousand of the townsmen; and to the east of the citadel he garrisoned with five hundred soldiers, and to the west of the citadel he placed on a high part of the city to the east; the rest of the

troops he ordered to watch carefully every occurrence, and to hasten to whatever spot the shout or sudden exigences might call them. Then, opening the gate, he sent out those whom he had formed in the street leading towards the Roman camp. The Romans, by direction of the general himself, drew back a little, that by being near their camp they might the more easily receive reinforcements during the engagement. At the beginning, both parties stood their ground, with little advantage on either side; but after some time, the reinforcements continually sent from the camp not only drove back the enemy, but pressed them so close while they fled in disorder, that had not a retreat been sounded, they would probably have rushed into the city intermixed with the fugitives. Nor was the consternation greater in the field than in every part of the city; in many places the troops in a panic abandoned their posts and fled, and the walls were left defenceless, those who ought to guard them having leaped down wherever they found a way. Scipio, going up on an eminence called Mercury's Hill, observed this their state, on which he ordered all his men to be called out from the camp, to bring scaling-ladders, and advance to the assault. He himself, covered by the shields of three able young men, because weapons of all kinds were now cast from the place in vast numbers, came up close to the works, encouraged his men, and gave the necessary orders. But what contributed above all to inflame the courage of the soldiers, was his being thus an immediate spectator and witness of the bravery or cowardice of every one of them. They rushed forward, therefore, regardless of the enemy, or of the wounds inflicted by them: nor could the walls, or the armed troops with which they were now lined, deter them from mounting with eager emulation. At the same time an assault commenced from the ships on that quarter of the town which is washed by the sea. But here, though a great alarm was raised, little effectual exertion could be made; because, while the men brought in the boats to the shore, while they hastily landed the soldiers and scaling-ladders, and while every one pressed forward to the land by the speediest way, through their own hurry and impatience they obstructed one another.

45. In the mean time the Carthaginian general had again filled the walls with numerous troops, and great abundance of weapons, brought out from their immense magazines, lay in heaps ready for use: but neither men nor weapons, nor any thing else, proved such an effectual defence as the walls themselves; for they were of such a height, that few of the ladders could reach the summit, and the longer any of these were, the weaker they were in proportion: as those, then,

who had mounted to the top, could not advance, and others nevertheless climbed up after them, the ladders were broken by their weight. In several cases, where the ladders stood upright, the men, on rising to so great a height, were seized with giddiness, and fell to the ground. While men and ladders were everywhere falling in this manner, and the enemy, from success, assumed more boldness and alacrity, the signal for retreat was given. This afforded hopes to the besieged, not only of present rest after such a laborious contest, but also of future safety; as it made them imagine that their city was impregnable by scalade and assault, and that their works were so difficult to be surmounted, that they would always give time to their commanders to bring up forces to their relief. Scarcely had the noise of the first tumult subsided, when Scipio ordered other men, who were fresh and unfatigued, to take the ladders from the weary and wounded, and to renew the assault with additional vigour. Being told at this juncture that the tide was ebbing, and having before learned from some fishermen of Tarraco, (who used to pass through the morass in light boats, and, when these ran aground, by wading,) that footmen might easily find a passage to the wall, he in person led five hundred soldiers thither. It was now about midday, and besides the water being naturally drawn off into the sea by the reflux of the tide, a brisk northerly wind arising, carried the water along in the same direction with the tide, and had rendered it so shallow, that in some places it reached only to the navel, in others scarcely to the knees. This circumstance, discovered in reality by his own diligence and sagacity, Scipio attributed as a prodigy to the interposition of the gods, who, to give a passage to the Romans, changed the course of the sea, and removed morasses, opening ways never before trodden by human foot. Impressing this on his men, he bade them follow Neptune, who acted as their guide, and make their way to the wall through the middle of the swamp.

46. On the land part the assailants had a most laborious task. The height of the walls was not the only obstruction that they met, for as the enemy had the Romans below them, they could aim their blows against either of their sides as they came up; so that while they were climbing these were more endangered than the fronts of their bodies: but in the other quarter the five hundred found no difficulty either in crossing the morass, or mounting the rampart; for neither was that side strengthened by any work, being deemed sufficiently secure by the nature of the ground and the marsh, nor was there any party of soldiers or guard stationed at it, because all were intent on bringing succour to the place.

where the danger appeared. Entering the city therefore without opposition, they proceeded with the utmost speed to the gate, at which the whole contest was maintained; and so intent on this dispute were not only the minds of all, but likewise the eyes and ears of the combatants, and of the people who looked on and encouraged them, that no one perceived that the enemy had entered the place until their weapons came pouring on their backs, and they found themselves between the two forces. The garrison were so affrighted and confounded, that they were no longer capable of making a defence. The walls were seized by the Romans, who both within and without applied themselves to the breaking open the gate, and this being soon cut to pieces, so as to leave a clear passage, the troops marched in to the attack. By this time great numbers had got in by scaling the walls, and these employed themselves everywhere in killing the townsmen. Those who had entered by the opening composing a regular body under their officers, and maintaining their ranks, proceeded through the heart of the city into the forum. Scipio perceiving that the enemy fled hence by two different ways; some towards the hill, which lay eastward, and was defended by a garrison of five hundred men, others to the citadel, into which Mago himself had retired, with almost all the soldiers who had been beaten off from the walls, sent one half of his forces to storm the hill, and led himself the other half against the citadel. The hill was taken at the first attack. Mago attempted at first to defend the citadel, but soon seeing every place filled with the enemy, and that no hope remained, surrendered himself, the citadel, and garrison. Until the citadel was surrendered, the soldiers had continued to put the townsmen to the sword in every quarter, nor did they spare any adult who fell in their way; but then, on a signal given, they desisted from shedding blood, and being now completely victorious, they turned themselves to the collecting of the plunder, the quantity of which, of all sorts, was immense.

47. The males of free condition taken prisoners amounted to ten thousand: of these, such as were citizens of New Carthage he discharged, and restored to them the city and all their effects which the war had not consumed. There were two thousand artisans, whom he adjudged to be the public property of the Roman people, giving them hopes of speedily regaining their liberty, provided they worked industriously in the service of the army. Of the rest of the multitude, all the younger inhabitants, and the able-bodied slaves, he sent to fill up the number of rowers in his fleet, which he augmented with eight ships captured here. Besides all these were found the hostages of the Spanish states, who

were treated with as much care and attention as if they had been the children of allies. The quantity of military stores taken was exceedingly great; catapultas of the larger size, one hundred and twenty; of the smaller, two hundred and eighty-one; of balistas, large, twenty-three; small, fifty-two; of scorpions, large and small, and of arms and missive weapons, a vast number; military standards, seventy-four. Of gold and silver also, a prodigious mass was brought in to the general: there were two hundred and seventy-six golden bowls, every one of them almost of a pound weight; of silver, wrought and coined, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds weight, and of silver utensils, a prodigious number. All these articles were weighed and reckoned to the questor Caius Flaminius; besides forty thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred and seventy thousand of barley. One hundred and thirteen store-ships were boarded and taken in the harbour, several of them with their cargoes, consisting of corn and arms: likewise brass, iron, canvass, hemp, and other materials proper for equipping a fleet: so that among such vast stores of every thing useful in war, Carthage itself was the least valuable acquisition.

48. Scipio, ordering Caius Lælius, with the marines, to guard the city, led back the legions into their camp. As the soldiers were much fatigued by having gone through in one day every different kind of fight; for they had engaged the enemy in the field, had undergone great labour and danger in storming the city, and, after it was taken, had fought on disadvantageous ground with those who had taken refuge in the citadel; he directed them to employ the remainder of that day in taking refreshment and rest. On the day following, having called together both the land and the naval forces, he began with returning praise and thanks to the immortal gods, who had "not only in the space of one day given him possession of the most opulent city in all Spain, but had previously amassed in it the greatest part of the wealth of that country, and of Africa also, so that no resources were now left to the enemy, while he and his army had a superfluity of all things." He then highly commended the courageous behaviour of the soldiers, observing, that "neither the force sent out against them, nor the height of the walls, nor the unexplored fords of the morass, nor a fort seated on a steep hill, nor the citadel, though most strongly fortified, had deterred them from surmounting and breaking through every obstacle. Wherefore, though he owed every acknowledgment to them all, nevertheless the person who first mounted the wall was entitled to the peculiar honour of a mural crown;" and he desired that he who thought himself deserving of that present should claim it. Two claim-

ants appeared, Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, one of the marines: but the warmth with which they themselves supported their pretensions was far inferior to the eager zeal which each excited in his favour among the corps to which he belonged. Caius Lælius, commander of the fleet, favoured the marines, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus the legionaries. This contention threatening at length to end in a mutiny, Scipio published notice that he would appoint three delegates, who, after examining the merits of the case, and hearing witnesses, should determine which had made his way first into the town. Accordingly, he named Caius Lælius and Marcus Sempronius advocates for the contending parties, with Publius Cornelius Claudinus, a person uninterested in the cause, as umpire; and ordered these three delegates to sit and determine in it. But the dispute was now maintained with greater violence than ever, in consequence of those men of high rank who had acted not as advocates, but as moderators in the case, being thus excluded. Wherefore Caius Lælius, quitting the court, went up to the tribunal to Scipio, and told him that "the proceedings of parties surpassed all bounds of temperance and moderation, insomuch, that they hardly refrained from blows. But, though no violence should ensue, nevertheless such conduct afforded an ill example; as, in this case, the honour due to merit was sought by one or other through the means of fraud and falsehood. On this side stood the legionary soldiers, on that the marines, both ready to swear, by all the gods, rather what they wished than what they knew to be true; and to involve in the crime of perjury not only themselves in their own persons, but the military standards and eagles, and the sacred word of a soldier:" he added, that "he brought him this information at the desire of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius." Scipio highly approving of Lælius's conduct, summoned a general assembly, and there pronounced judgment, that "having received sufficient proof that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius gained the top of the wall at the same time, in acknowledgment of their bravery he bestowed mural crowns on both." He then bestowed gifts on the rest, in proportion to their courage and merit: above all, he honoured Caius Lælius, commander of the fleet, with every encomium of the highest kind that could have been paid to himself, and presented him besides with a golden crown and thirty oxen.

49. He then ordered the hostages of the Spanish states to be called. What the number of these was I will not presume to affirm; for I find in some writers that they were about three hundred, in others seven hundred and twenty-five. Authors differ as much in respect of other particulars: the

Carthaginian garrison, one writer says, amounted to ten thousand men; another to seven, another to no more than two thousand. In some accounts ten thousand prisoners are said to have been taken, in others above twenty-five thousand. I should set down the scorpions, great and small, that were taken, at sixty, if I were to follow the Greek historian, Silenus; if Valerius Antias, at six thousand greater, and thirteen thousand smaller; so contradictory are the several accounts. Nay, they do not even agree as to the commanding officer. The greater number affirm that Caius Lælius had charge of the fleet, while there are some who assign it to Marcus Junius Silanus. Valerius Antias tells that it was Armes who commanded the Carthaginian garrison, and who surrendered to the Romans; other writers assert that it was Mago. They vary in the number of the ships taken, in the weight of the gold and silver, and of the money brought into the public treasury. If we are not to remain in a state of doubt, but must believe some or other of their accounts, those which hold the mean, between the highest and the lowest, are most likely to be true. Scipio, however, when the hostages were called before him, first desired them not to be dispirited; for "they had come into the power of the Roman people, whose wish it always was to bind all to them by kindness, rather than by fear; and to have foreign nations united to them in good faith and amicable alliance, and not in a state of oppression and gloomy servitude." He then took an account of the prisoners, distinguishing the number belonging to the several states, to each of which he sent expresses, desiring them to come and receive their respective hostages; some of whom, however, as their ambassadors happened to be present, he restored on the spot, ordering the questor, Caius Flaminius, to take care that the rest should be kindly treated. There now came forward from among the crowd of hostages a woman far advanced in years, the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, the chieftain of the Illergetians: she threw herself at the general's feet, and with tears besought him to give the guards more strict injunctions respecting the care and treatment to be shown to the women. Scipio, assuring her that they should not want any kind of accommodation, she replied, "Those are not matters about which we are much solicitous: for what accommodation can be considered as insufficient for persons in our situation? My anxiety of a very different kind reads my heart, when I consider the age of these young persons; for as to myself I am now beyond any danger of those injuries to which my sex is liable." On each side of her stood the daughters of Indibilis, in the bloom of youth and beauty, and several others of equal distinction, by

all of whom she was revered as a parent. Scipio answered,—“Out of regard to myself, and out of regard to the Roman discipline, I should take care that no right, anywhere deemed sacred, should suffer violation from us. In the present case, the virtue and merit of women of such distinction as you are, who, in the midst of misfortunes, forget not the delicacy of character becoming the most respectable of your sex, demand from me an extraordinary degree of attention.” He then intrusted them to a person on whose strict regularity of conduct he could entirely rely, and gave him a particular charge that they should be treated with all the respect and decency due to the wives and mothers of guests.

50. The soldiers afterward brought to him, as a prisoner, a damsel of such exquisite beauty, that she attracted the eyes of all. Scipio, on making inquiries concerning her country and parents, discovered, among other particulars, that she was betrothed to a young prince of the Celtiberians, named Allucius. He therefore immediately summoned from home her parents, and affianced husband; and when the latter arrived, having, in the mean time, heard that he was most passionately enamoured of his intended bride, he addressed his discourse to him more particularly than to the lady's parents: “A young man myself,” said he, “I address myself to a young man, that there may be the less reserve in our conversation on this occasion. When your mistress, being taken by our soldiers, was brought to me, and I was told of the very great affection you have for her, which indeed her beauty made me readily believe, I considered that, in my own case, if my thoughts were not totally engrossed by the affairs of the public, and I were at liberty to indulge the pleasurable pursuits adapted to my time of life, especially in a lawful and honourable love, I should wish that my affection for my intended bride, though warm even to a degree of extravagance, should yet be viewed with an indulgent eye; and I therefore resolved, in your case, where no tie of duty confines me, to do all in my power in favour of your passion. Your beloved, while in my care, has been treated with as respectful an attention as she could have met with had she been in the house of your father and mother-in-law, her own parents. She has been preserved in perfect safety, that I might be able to present her to you, her purity unspotted, a gift worthy of me to bestow, and of you to receive. The only return I require for a present of such value, is, that you be a friend to the Roman people; and that, if you believe me to be a man of worth, such as these nations have heretofore known my father and my uncle, you be assured that there are, in the Roman state, great numbers of men

like themselves; and that no nation at this day on earth can be named, which you ought less to choose as an enemy to you and yours, or whose friendship you ought more ardently to desire." The youth, overwhelmed at once with joy and diffidence, and holding Scipio's right hand, invoked all the gods to recompense, on his behalf, such exalted goodness, since his own ability was utterly disproportioned, either to his own wishes, or his benefactor's generosity. Scipio then accosted in friendly terms the parents and relations of the young woman, who, having brought with them a very large weight of gold to purchase her liberty, on her being restored to them without ransom, earnestly besought him to accept it from them, assuring him that they should deem themselves as much obliged by his compliance, as by the restoration of their child to safety. Unwilling to reject such pressing solicitations, he ordered it to be laid at his feet; then, calling Allucius to him, he said, "Besides the dowry which you are to receive from your father-in-law, you must take also this marriage present from me," bidding him carry away the gold, and keep it to himself. Overjoyed by these honours and presents, the young man was dismissed to his home, where he filled the ears of his countrymen with the well-merited praises of Scipio. "A god-like youth," he said, "had come among them; subduing all, not by the power of his arms only, but by his goodness and magnanimity." Full of such sentiments, he made a levy among his dependants, and, within a few days, returned to Scipio with one thousand four hundred chosen horsemen.

51. Scipio kept Lælius with him to assist with his advice in disposing of the prisoners, hostages, and booty; and when all these matters were properly adjusted, he gave him a quinquereme, and, ordering him to take on board Mago and fifteen senators of Old Carthage, who had been made prisoners at the same time, sent him to Rome with the news of his success. The few days which he had resolved to pass at Carthage he employed in exercising both his land and naval forces. On the first day the legions made excursions and evolutions under arms through a space of four miles; on the second he ordered them to review and scour their arms before their respective tents; on the third, forming opposite parties, they engaged each other, in a manner representing a regular battle, but with blunted weapons, and throwing the like kind of darts. On the fourth they were allowed to rest; and on the fifth the roving regular succession of labour and rest commenced again. This they kept up as long as the weather the rowers and marines, pushing out to sea, made trial in mock sea-fights of the activity of their ships. Such was their employ-

ment on the outside of the walls; and these exercises on land and sea qualified both their minds and bodies for real action. Within, all parts of the city resounded with warlike preparations, workmen of every kind being collected together in a public arsenal. The general attended to every particular with equal care; at one time he was busy in the fleet and dock-yard; at another, he headed the legions in their excursions; again, he employed his time in overseeing the works, which were carried on with great diligence and emulation by a multitude of workmen in the arsenals, armory, and dock-yards, and great numbers of necessary articles finished every day. Having thus set on foot these preparations, repaired the breaches in the walls, and established posts for the guard of the city, he set out for Tarraco, and, on his way thither, received as he went along a great number of embassies. Some of these he answered on the road, and dismissed; others he adjourned to Tarraco, where he had appointed a general meeting of all the allies, both new and old. Accordingly, this meeting was attended by almost every state on the hither side of the Iberus, and also by many from the Farther Spain. The Carthaginian generals, at first, carefully suppressed the intelligence of Carthage being taken; afterward, when that event became too notorious to be any longer concealed or dissembled, they affected to speak of it with little concern. They said, "by an unexpected attack, and the efforts of one day, one city in Spain had been surprised and taken in a manner by stealth; that an inexperienced youth, elated by the acquisition of a prize of but little consequence, had by his immoderate joy imposed on it the appearance of an important victory; but as soon as he should hear that three generals, and three armies of his enemies, all flushed with victory, were marching towards him, he would quickly be struck with the recollection of the deaths which had happened in his family." Such was their language in public, while they themselves were fully sensible how great a diminution their strength had suffered in every particular by the loss of Carthage.

BOOK XXVII.

CHAP. 1. SUCH was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy the consul Marcellus, after regaining possession of Salapia, which was betrayed into his hands, took by storm Maronea and Meles, cities belonging to the Samnites. He made pri-

others three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, left in garrison: the booty, which was considerable, was given up to the soldiers: here were found, also, two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat, and one hundred and ten thousand of barley. But the joy occasioned hereby was much less than the grief felt for an overthrow a few days after, near the city of Herdonea. Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, lay there encamped, in hopes of recovering that city, which, after the defeat at Cannæ, had revolted from the Romans; but his post was neither strong by nature, nor secured by proper guards. The negligence natural to that commander's disposition was increased by perceiving that the inhabitants, as soon as they heard that Hannibal, after the loss of Salapia, had withdrawn from that part of the country into Bruttium, began to waver in their attachment to the Carthaginians. Intelligence of all these particulars was conveyed to Hannibal by private messengers from Herdonea; and, while it made him anxious to preserve an allied city, at the same time inspired hopes of attacking the enemy unprepared. With his troops therefore lightly equipped for expedition, he hastened to Herdonea by such long marches, that he almost anticipated the report of his approach; and, to strike the greater terror, he advanced in order of battle. The Roman commander, fully equal to him in boldness, but inferior in judgment and strength, hastily led out his forces, and engaged him. The fifth legion, and the left wing of allied infantry, commenced the fight with vigour. But Hannibal gave directions to his cavalry that, as soon as the lines of infantry should have their thoughts and eyes entirely occupied on the contest between themselves, they should ride round; that one half of them should fall on the enemy's camp and the other on the rear of their troops that were engaged. With a sneer on the name of Fulvius, he assured them that, as he had utterly defeated him in the same country two years before, the present battle would have a similar issue. Nor was this expectation ill-grounded: for, after many of the Romans had fallen, in the close conflict between the lines of infantry, (the companies and battalions nevertheless still maintaining their ground,) the tumult raised by the cavalry in the rear, and the enemy's shout from the camp, which was heard at the same time, put to flight the sixth legion, which, being posted in the second line, was thrown into disorder by the Numidians; as were afterward the fifth, and those in the van. Some fled in hurry and confusion, the rest were surrounded and slain; among whom fell Cneius Fulvius himself, with eleven military tribunes. How many thousand of the Romans and allies were slain in that battle, who can positively affirm, when I find in some historians thirteen thousand, in others not more than

seven. The conqueror possessed himself of the camp and the spoil. Having discovered that Herdonea was disposed to revolt to the Romans, and would not continue faithful to him after his departure, he removed the inhabitants to Metapontum and Thurium, and burned the city to the ground. The leaders of the party who were found to have held secret conference with Fulvius he put to death. The Romans who escaped the slaughter of this disastrous day fled, half armed, by different roads, into Samnium, to the consul Marcellus.

2. Marcellus, not too much dismayed by so great a disaster, wrote to Rome to the senate an account of the general and army being lost at Herdonea; adding, that notwithstanding this misfortune, "he, who had quelled the haughty spirit of Hannibal, when his confidence was at the highest, in consequence of his victory at Cannæ, was now going against him, with the same degree of resolution, and would take effectual care that his present joy and exultation should be short." At Rome, as people's grief for the past was great, so were their fears of the future. The consul, passing over from Samnium into Lucania, pitched his camp at Numistro, on level ground, within view of Hannibal, who was posted on a hill. He gave, besides, another proof of confidence in his own strength, for he was the first to offer battle; nor did Hannibal, on seeing the standards advance through the gates, decline the challenge. However, they drew up their forces in such a manner, that the right wing of the Carthaginians stretched up the hill, and the left wing of the Romans was brought close to the town. From the third hour the action had lasted until night, and the fatigue of fighting for such a length of time had overpowered the foremost lines, consisting, on the side of the Romans, of the first legion and the right wing of allies; on Hannibal's side, of the Spanish infantry, Balearic slingers, and the elephants, which, at the beginning of the engagement, had been brought into the field. And now the fight flagged for a considerable time, neither party having gained any advantage, when the third legion advanced into the place of the first, and the left wing of the allies into that of the right; on the side of the enemy, likewise, the wearied were relieved by fresh troops. On this, both parties being in full spirit and vigour, instead of the former languid efforts, a furious conflict at once arose; but night separated the combatants before the victory could be decided. Next morning the Romans stood, in order of battle, from sunrise, during a great part of the day; and none of the enemy coming out to face them, gathered the spoils at their leisure, and collecting the bodies of their slain into one spot, burned them on a funeral pile. In the following night Hannibal decamped in silence, and marched off towards

Apulia; but, as soon as daylight discovered the enemy's flight, Marcellus, leaving his wounded at Numistro, with a small garrison, the command of which he gave to Lucius Furius Purpureo, a military tribune, set out immediately in close pursuit, and overtook him at Venusia. Here, during several days, many skirmishes happened between parties sallying from the outposts, in which infantry and cavalry were intermixed, and which produced more noise and tumult than real advantage to either side; but which, in general, terminated in favour of the Romans. From thence the two armies marched through Apulia without any engagement of consequence; for Hannibal, seeking opportunities for stratagems, removed always by night, Marcellus never following but in clear daylight, and after having carefully examined the country through which he was to pass.

3. Meanwhile, as Flaccus was spending much time at Capua, in selling the property of the nobility, and setting to farm the forfeited estates, all of which he let for a rent of corn, he was furnished with a fresh occasion for practising severity on the Campanians; for he received certain information of a wicked scheme, of an extraordinary nature, which had for some time been hatching in secret. Having removed the soldiers out of the houses, for two reasons, first, because he chose that the houses of the city should be held along with the lands; and next, because he feared lest excessive luxury might enervate his army, as it had that of Hannibal, he had made them build huts for themselves, in the military manner, near the gates and walls. Now most of these were formed of hurdles or boards, some of reeds interwoven, and all of them covered with straw, as if purposely intended for combustion. One hundred and seventy Campanians, at the head of whom were two brothers of the name of Blossius, had conspired to set fire to all these at one-hour of the night. But the design was discovered by some slaves belonging to the Blossii; whereon, the gates being instantly shut by order of the proconsul, and the soldiers having, on the signal being given, assembled under arms, all who were concerned in the conspiracy were seized, and after undergoing a severe examination by torture, condemned and put to death. The informers were rewarded with their freedom, and ten thousand asses* each. The Nuceria and Acerrans, having complained that they had no place of habitation, as Nuceria was partly burned, and Acerra demolished, Fulvius sent them to Rome to the senate. Permission was granted to the Acerrans to rebuild what had been thus destroyed; and the Nuceria, agreeably to their own choice, were trans-

planted to Atella, the inhabitants of the latter being ordered to remove to Calatia. Among the multiplicity of important affairs, (some prosperous, others adverse,) which occupied the thoughts of the public, even the citadel of Tarentum was not forgotten: Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquilius being commissioned for the purpose, went into Etruria to purchase corn, which was to be conveyed to Tarentum; and, together with the corn, were sent thither, as a reinforcement to the garrison, one thousand men out of the city troops, consisting of equal numbers of Romans and allies.

4. The summer was now nearly elapsed, and the time of the consular election drew nigh: but a letter received from Marcellus, affirming that it would be injurious to the public interest, if he were to depart a step from Hannibal, who was retreating before him, while he, by a close pursuit, distressed him materially, threw the senate into some perplexity, as they were unwilling either to call home the consul, at a time when he was most actively employed against the enemy, or to let the year pass without consuls. It was judged most advisable, though the other consul Valerius was abroad, that he should rather be recalled, and even from Sicily. Accordingly, in pursuance of an order of the senate, a letter was sent to him by Lucius Manlius, pretor of the city, and together with it that of the consul Marcellus, that from them he might perceive the reason which induced the senate to recall him from his province, rather than his colleague. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from King Syphax, with a recital of all the successful battles which he had fought against the Carthaginians, and assurances that "their king entertained not a more inveterate enmity to any nation than to the Carthaginian, nor a more warm friendship for any than for the Roman;" adding, that "he had before sent embassies into Spain, to the Roman generals, Cneius and Publius Cornelius; and that he now wished to seek, as it were, at the fountain head, the friendship of the Romans." The senate not only answered his ambassadors with kindness, but sent others in return, charged with presents to the king; these were Lucius Genucius, Publius Postelius, and Publius Popilius. The presents which they carried were, a purple gown and vest, an ivory chair, and a golden bowl of five pounds weight. They received orders also to proceed to visit other chieftains of Africa, carrying with them donatives of gowns with purple borders, and golden bowls weighing three pounds each. To Alexandria, also, were sent Marcus Atilius, and Manius Acilius, in embassy to King Ptolemy Philopater and Queen Cleopatra, to revive and renew the former treaty of friendship; bearing with them a purple gown and vest, with an ivory chain for

the king; an embroidered gown and a purple robe for the queen. During this summer many prodigies were reported from the neighbouring cities and country: that at Tusculum a lamb was yeaned with its udder full of milk; and that the temple of Jupiter was struck on the roof by lightning, and almost entirely stripped of its covering; that at Anagnia, about the same time, the ground before one of the gates was fired, and without the aid of any combustible matter continued burning a day and a night; that at Compitum, in the district of Anagnia, the birds forsook their nests on the trees in the grove of Diana; that near the mouth of the harbour of Tarracina snakes of wonderful size were seen in the sea, and sporting like fishes; that at Tarquinii a pig was littered which had a human face; and that, in the district of Capena, at the grove of Feronia, four statues sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These evil omens were expiated with victims of the greater kind, in conformity to the order of the pontiffs; and a supplication was ordered to be performed at all the shrines, one day at Rome, and another in the district of Capena, at the grove of Feronia.

5. The consul Marcus Valerius, on receipt of the letters by which he was summoned home, gave up the command of the province and the army to the pretor Cincius; sent Marcus Valerius Messala, commander of the fleet, with half of the ships to Africa, to plunder the country, and at the same time to gain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the Carthaginians: then he set out himself with ten ships, and arriving at Rome after a prosperous voyage, immediately convened the senate. Here he recited the services which he had performed; that "after hostilities had been carried on in Sicily, and many severe losses sustained on land and sea during almost sixty years, he had brought the war to a final termination. That there was not one Carthaginian in Sicily, nor one Sicilian, of those who had been compelled by fear to fly and live abroad, who was not then at home; that all had been reinstated in the possession of their own cities and estates, and were employed in ploughing and sowing; that the land, after having been long deserted, was at length filled again with inhabitants, and in a condition both to afford plenty to its occupiers, and the most certain supplies of provisions to the Roman people either in peace or war." After this Mutines, and such others as had deserved well of the Roman people, were introduced to the senate; who, to fulfil the engagements of the consul, bestowed rewards on them all. Mutines was even made a Roman citizen, an order for that purpose being proposed to the commons by a plebeian tribune, in pursuance

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Directions from the senate.

While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Valerius Messala, with fifty ships, arriving on the coast of Africa before day, made an unexpected descent on the lands of Utica, which he ravaged to a great extent; and, after taking many prisoners and other booty of every kind, re-embarked, set sail for Sicily, and returned to Lilybæum, on the thirteenth day after he had left it. On examining the prisoners, the following particulars were discovered, and all, in order, communicated by letter to the consul Lævinus, that he might know the real state of affairs in Africa. That "there were at Carthage five thousand Numidians, commanded by Massinissa, son of Gala, a young man of a very enterprising spirit; and that people were employed in all parts of Africa, in hiring other troops, which were to be sent to Spain, to Hasdrubal, in order that, with the most numerous army which he could muster, and with all possible expedition, he might pass over into Italy and join Hannibal. That on this measure the Carthaginians placed all their hopes of success. That, besides this, they were fitting out a very great fleet for the recovery of Sicily, and that the prisoners believed it would sail thither in a very short time." When the letter containing this information was read, it made so great an impression on the senate, that they all concurred in opinion that the consul ought not to wait for the elections, but to nominate a dictator to hold them, and return without delay to his province. This plan was obstructed by a dispute which arose; for the consul declared that he would nominate dictator Marcus Valerius Messala, who was then in Sicily commanding the fleet; but the senate insisted that a dictator could not be nominated who was in any place out of the Roman territory, which extended not beyond the limits of Italy. Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, proposing the question hereon, the senate decreed thus: "That the consul, before he left the city, should consult the people as to whom they wished to be appointed dictator, and should nominate to that office whomsoever they should order. That if he refused this, the pretor should hold the meeting; and if he also were unwilling to do it, that then the tribunes should propose the question." Valerius declared that he would not ask the judgment of the people on a matter properly belonging to his own jurisdiction, and he forbade it in the pretor; on which the plebeian tribunes proposed the question, and the commons ordered that Quintus Fulvius, then at Capua, should be created dictator. But in the night preceding the day on which the assembly of the people was to be held, the consul went off privately to Sicily; and the senate, left thus unsupported, took the resolution of ordering a letter to be sent to Marcus Claudius, desiring him to give assistance to the com-

monwealth, which his colleague had deserted, and to nominate the dictator fixed on by the people. Accordingly, Quintus Fulvius was nominated dictator by the consul Claudius; and in compliance with the same order of the people, the dictator, Quintus Fulvius, named Publius Licinius Crassus, then chief pontiff, master of the horse.

6. The dictator, on coming to Rome, sent Cneius Sempronius Blaesus, who had been a lieutenant-general under him at Capua, into the province of Etruria, to take the command of the army there, in the room of the pretor, Caius Calpurnius, whom he called away by letter, to command his own army at Capua. He appointed for the elections the earliest day on which they could be held; but a dispute arising between the dictator and the tribunes, they could not be finished on that day. The younger Galerian century having obtained by lot the privilege of voting first, named as consuls Quintus Fulvius, and Quintus Fabius: and the centuries, voting in their course, would have followed them, had not two plebeian tribunes, Caius and Lucius Arennius, interposed. They asserted that "the re-electing of the same person to the supreme magistracy was not easily reconcilable to the principles of a republic; and much more pernicious would the precedent be, if the very person who presided at the election were himself to be chosen. If therefore the dictator admitted his own name in the list of candidates, they would protest against the election; but if he received on the list any other except himself, they would give no obstruction to the business." The dictator maintained the propriety of the proceedings of the assembly, on the grounds of a vote of the senate, an order of the people, and several precedents: for "in the consulate of Cneius Servilius, when the other consul Caius Flaminius had fallen at the Thrasymentus, the question was, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered that so long as the war continued in Italy it should be lawful for them to re-elect to the consulship, and that as often as they should see proper, any of those who had already held that office. As to precedents in point, he had one of ancient date, in the case of Lucius Postumius Megellus, who, while he was interrex, was, in the assembly where he himself presided, created consul, with Caius Junius Bubulcus; and a recent one, in the case of Quintus Fabius, who certainly would never have suffered himself to be re-elected if it were inconsistent with the public good." After long arguments, an agreement at last was made, maintained by the dictator and the tribunes to abide by the determination of the senate. The senators were of opinion that the present state of the commonwealth was such that the administration

istration of its affairs should be in the hands of experienced commanders, skilled in all the arts of war; and they therefore disapproved of any opposition to the proceedings of the assembly of election. The tribunes then acquiesced, and the election proceeded. Quintus Fabius Maximus a fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus a fourth, were declared consuls. The following persons were then elected pretors: Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quintius Crispinus, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, Caius Arunculeius. As soon as the appointment of magistrates for the year was finished, Quintus Fulvius resigned the dictatorship. Towards the end of this summer a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships, under the command of Hamilcar, sailed over to Sardinia, and committed great depredations in the district of Olbia. Afterward, on the pretor Publius Manlius Vulso appearing there with an army, they proceeded to the other side of the island, and ravaged the lands of Caralita, from whence they returned with booty of all kinds to Africa. Several Roman priests died this year, and others were substituted in their places. Caius Servilius was made a pontiff, in the room of Titus Otacilius Crassus; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, an augur, in the room of Otacilius Crassus; and the same Tiberius Sempronius, a decemvir for directing religious rites, in the room of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Caius. Marcus Marcius, king in religious matters, and Marcus Æmilius Papus, chief curio, died, but their places were not filled up during this year. Lucius Veturius Philo, and Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, were created censors for the year. Licinius Crassus had not, before this appointment, been either consul or pretor, but was advanced, at one step, from the edileship to the censorship. However, these censors neither chose a senate, nor transacted any public business, being prevented by the death of Lucius Veturius, on which Licinius abdicated the office. The curule ediles, Lucius Veturius, and Publius Licinius Varus, repeated the exhibition of the Roman games once. The plebeian ediles, Quintus Catus and Lucius Porcius Licinius, out of the money accruing from fines, erected brazen statutes in the temple of Ceres, and exhibited games with much magnificence and splendour, considering the circumstances of those times.

7. At the end of the year, Caius Lælius, Scipio's lieutenant-general, on the thirty-fourth day after he set sail from Tarraco, arrived at Rome, and passing through the streets, with the train of prisoners whom he brought, attracted a vast concourse of people. Next day, being introduced to the senate, he delivered the advices with which he was charged, that Carthage, the metropolis of Spain, had been

reduced in one day, several revolted cities brought back to obedience, and new alliances formed with others. From the prisoners information was gained, corresponding, in general, with that contained in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messala. What gave the greatest uneasiness to the senate was Hasdrubal's intended march into Italy, which was scarcely able to withstand Hannibal, and the force which he had already with him. Lælius also, coming out into the general assembly, gave a similar account. The senate, in consideration of the services performed by Publius Scipio, decreed a supplication for one day, and then ordered Caius Lælius to return with all expedition to Spain, with the ships which he had brought thence. On the authority of a great many historians, I have fixed the taking of Carthage in this year, although I am not ignorant that several have placed it in the year following; but it appeared to me very improbable that Scipio should have passed a whole year in Spain without doing any thing. [A. U. C. 543. B. C. 209.] The consulate of Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a fourth, commencing on the ides of March, a decree was passed on the same day, appointing Italy the province of both, but they were to command separately in different quarters; Fabius to conduct the operations of the war at Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucania and Bruttium. Marcus Claudius was continued in command for a year. The pretors then cast lots for their provinces: Caius Hostilius Tibullus obtained the city jurisdiction; Lucius Veturius Philo the foreign, with Gaul; Titus Quintius Crispinus, Capua; and Caius Arunculeius, Sardinia. The troops were distributed among the provinces in this manner: to Fulvius were decreed the two legions which Marcus Valerius Lævinus had in Sicily; to Quintus Fabius those which Caius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria; the city troops were to replace those in Etruria, and Caius Calpurnius was to command the same province, with the army; Titus Quintius was to have the government of Capua, with the army which had served there under Quintus Fulvius; Lucius Veturius was to receive from Caius Lætorius, propretor, the province of Ariminum, with the army then on the spot; to Marcus Marcellus were assigned the legions with which he had in his consulate acted successfully; to Marcus Valerius, in conjunction with Lucius Cincius, (for they also were continued in command in Sicily,) the troops of Cannæ were given, with orders to complete their full complement out of the survivors of Cneius Fulvius's legions. These were sent together, and sent by the consuls into Sicily, being ordered by the same ignominious order under which the soldiers of Cannæ served.

and those of the army of the pretor Cneius Fulvius, whom the senate, through resentment at the like cowardice, had formerly ordered thither. To Caius Arunculeius were assigned, for Sardinia, the same legions which had served in that province under Publius Manlius Vulso. Publius Sulpicius was continued in command for a year, to hold the province of Macedonia, and with the same legion and the same fleet which he then had. Thirty quinqueremes were ordered to be sent from Sicily to Tarentum, to Quintus Fabius the consul: and with the rest of the fleet, Marcus Valerius Lævinus was either to sail over to Africa himself, to ravage the country, or to send thither Lucius Cincius, or Marcus Valerius Messala. With respect to Spain no change was made, only that Scipio and Silanus were continued in command, not for a year, but until they should be recalled by the senate. Such was the distribution made of the provinces, and of the commands of the armies for that year.

8. Among other business of more serious importance, the assembly, convened for the purpose of electing to the priesthood a chief curio, in the room of Marcus Æmilius, revived an old dispute; for the patricians insisted that Caius Mamilius Vitulus, the only plebeian candidate, ought not to be allowed to stand, because none but a patrician had ever held that office of the priesthood. The tribunes being appealed to, referred the business to the senate. The senate voted that the people might act therein as they should think proper. Thus Caius Mamilius Vitulus was elected chief curio, being the first plebeian admitted into that office. Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, compelled Caius Valerius Flaccus, against his will, to be inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. Caius Lætorius was created decemvir for the performance of religious rites, in the room of Quintus Mucius Scævola, deceased. I should willingly pass over in silence the reason of the flamen being forced into the office, labouring as he then did under a bad character, had he not afterward acquired a very good one. Caius Flaccus had spent his youth in idleness and debauchery, and his vicious courses had drawn on him the displeasure of his own brother Lucius Flaccus, and of his other relations; and Publius Licinius was in hope of reclaiming him. Indeed, when his thoughts became engaged in the care of the sacrifices and religious performances, he quickly made such a complete alteration in his conduct, from what it had hitherto been, that, among all the young men of the time, no one was held in higher esteem, or more entirely approved by the principal patricians, by his own family, and by all. This universal good character inspiring him with a proper sense of his own worth, he asserted a privilege which had for many years

been laid aside, on account of the unworthiness of former flamins, that of having a seat in the senate. On his coming into the senate-house, the pretor, Lucius Licinius, led him out; on which he appealed to the tribunes of the commons, alleging that he only claimed an ancient privilege of his priesthood, which was conferred on the office of flamen, together with the purple-bordered robe and the curule chair. The pretor argued that such a right depended not on the copies of annals, rendered obsolete by their antiquity, but on the customary practice of more recent times; and that in the memory of their fathers, and even grandfathers, no flamen of Jupiter had been allowed it. The tribunes thought it reasonable that, as the right had been suffered to fall into disuse through the inattention of former flamins, the injury ensuing should affect only themselves, and not the office; and accordingly, without any opposition from the pretor himself, and with the universal approbation of the senate and commons, they introduced the flamen to a seat in the senate, though all men were of opinion that his having attained his object was owing to the strict integrity of his conduct rather than to any privilege of the priesthood. The consuls, before they departed for their provinces, raised two city legions, and such a number of soldiers as was necessary to make up the complement of the other armies. The force which hitherto had served in the city the consul Fulvius gave to his brother Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with orders to march it into Etruria, and to bring home to Rome the legions then in that province. The other consul, Fabius, having collected the relics of Fulvius's army, which amounted to three thousand three hundred and thirty-six men, ordered his son Quintus Maximus to conduct them into Sicily, to the proconsul Marcus Valerius, and to receive from him the two legions and thirty quinqueremes. The removal of these legions out of the island made no diminution, in respect either of strength or appearance, in the force stationed in that province: for, besides two veteran legions, completely recruited to their full complement, the proconsul had a great multitude of Numidian deserters, both horse and foot, and he also enlisted in his service those Sicilians who had served in the army of Epicydes, and that of the Carthaginians, men well experienced in war. By annexing a part of these foreign auxiliaries to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies; with one of which he ordered Lucius Cincius to guard that part of the island which was formerly the kingdom of Hiero; and, with the other, he himself took charge of the rest of it, separated formerly by the boundaries of the Roman and Carthaginian dominions. He likewise made division of the

fleet, which consisted of seventy sail, in order that they might extend their protection of the coasts round the whole circumference of the island. Attended by the cavalry of Mutines, he went in person through every part of the province, to view the lands, observe what parts were cultivated, and what were not, commending or reproving the owners accordingly. In consequence of his care in this particular, such an abundance of corn was produced, that, besides sending a quantity to Rome, he conveyed to Catana a sufficient supply for the army, which was to be employed during the summer at Tarentum.

9. But the transportation of those soldiers into Sicily, the greater part of whom were Latines and allies, was very near proving the cause of formidable disturbances; so true it is, that the issues of great affairs often depend on trivial circumstances: for the Latines and allies, in their meetings, began to murmur that "that they had now for ten years been drained by levies and contributions. That generally every year they suffered great losses in the war. Many were slain in the field, many were cut off by sickness; and that every one of their countrymen, enlisted as a soldier by the Romans, was more effectually lost to them, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians; because the latter was sent back, without ransom, to his country, whereas the other was ordered by the Romans out of Italy, into banishment indeed, rather than to military service. The troops of Cannæ were now growing old in that situation, having been in it nearly eight years, and would end their lives before the enemy, whose strength was at the present in a state particularly flourishing, would retire out of Italy. If veteran soldiers were not to return home, and still new ones to be enlisted, there would not, in a short time, be one of that description remaining. Wherefore it was become necessary, before they should be reduced to the last degree of desolation and want, to deny to the Romans that which particular circumstances alone would shortly render it impossible to grant. If that people saw the allies cordially uniting in such a measure, they certainly would think of making peace with the Carthaginians: otherwise, as long as Hannibal lived, Italy would never be free from war." Thus did they argue in their assemblies. The Roman colonies were at this time thirty in number; all of whom had ambassadors at Rome; and twelve of them presented a remonstrance to the consuls, stating that they had not the means of furnishing the supplies of men and money. These were Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Cora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, and Interamna. The consuls, surprised at such an extraordinary declaration, and wishing to deter them from

the meditated secession, to which end they supposed that censure and reproof would be more effectual than gentle measures, answered, that the expressions which they had dared to use were such as the consuls could not prevail on themselves to repeat in the senate: for they contained not a refusal of military duty, but an open defection from the Roman people. They advised them, therefore, to return home instantly to consult with their respective countrymen, as if no step had yet been taken; since their infamous design, though disclosed in words, had not proceeded to action; and to remind them that they were not natives of Campania, or of Tarentum, but of Rome. That from thence they derived their origin, and from thence were sent out into colonies, into lands taken from enemies, for the purpose of increasing population; and that, consequently, whatever duties children owe to parents, these they owed to the Romans, if they had any remains of natural affection, or any regard for their mother country. They desired them, therefore, to confer on the matter anew; for that, as to the measures which they had inconsiderately mentioned, their tendency was to betray the Roman empire, and to give up the conquest of it to Hannibal." Though the consuls, one after the other, reasoned with them in this manner for a long time, yet the ambassadors were not in the least moved, but replied, "they had nothing new to represent to the senate at home, neither had that assembly grounds for new deliberation, when they neither had men to be enlisted, nor money to pay them." The consuls finding them inflexible, laid the affair before the senate: and here it excited such serious apprehensions in every mind, that great numbers cried out, that "the ruin of the empire was at hand; that the other colonies would act in the same manner; so would the allies; that all had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal."

10. The consuls endeavoured to console and encourage the senate, telling them "the other colonies would maintain their allegiance and duty as heretofore; and that even these which had swerved from their duty, if ambassadors were sent round among them instructed to apply reproofs, and not entreaties, would be impressed with respect for the sovereign authority." Having received power from the senate to act and manage as they should see most conducive to the public good, they began by sounding the dispositions of the other colonies; and then, summoning their ambassadors, demanded of them in contingents of soldiers read To this Marcus Sextilius eighteen colonies, made an

ready according to the regulation; that if a greater number should be required, they would bring them; and, that whatever else the Roman people should command or wish, they would perform with zeal and diligence. That they wanted not sufficiency of means, and had more than a sufficiency of inclination." On this the consuls, after premising that all the praises which themselves could bestow would be inadequate to their merits, unless they were joined by the thanks of the whole body of the senate in full assembly, desired them to accompany them into the senate-house. The senate complimented them by a decree conceived in the most honourable terms possible, and then charged the consuls to conduct them into an assembly of the people also, and there, among the many other important services which those colonies had performed to them and their ancestors, to make proper mention of this recent instance of their meritorious conduct towards the commonwealth. Even now, and after so many ages, their names should not be lost in silence, nor should they be defrauded of their due praise: they were these—Signia, Norba, Saticulum, Brundisium, Fregellæ, Luceria, Venusia, Adria, Firma, Ariminum; on the coast of the other sea, Pontia, Pæstum, and Cosa; and in the inland parts, Beneventum, Æsernia, Spoletum, Placentia, and Cremona. Supported by these, the Roman empire was enabled to stand; and they received every mark of gratitude, both in the senate and in the assembly of the people. The former ordered that no mention should be made of the other twelve dependencies, which had refused to furnish their quota for the war, and that the consuls should neither dismiss nor detain their ambassadors, nor hold any communication with them: such a tacit proof of displeasure was judged the most suitable to the dignity of the Roman people. While the consuls were busy in expediting the other necessary preparations for the campaign, it was resolved to draw out of the treasury the vicesimary gold, (that is to say, a fund formed of the twentieth part of the value of slaves enfranchised,) which was reserved for exigences of the utmost necessity. There was drawn out accordingly, to the amount of four thousand pounds weight of gold. Of this were given to the consuls, to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, proconsuls, and to Lucius Veturius, the pretor, to whom the lots had given the province of Gaul, five hundred pounds each; and besides this there were given, in particular charge, to the consul Fabius, one hundred pounds of gold to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum. The remainder they employed in making contracts, with ready money, for clothing the army, who were then serving in Spain, with so much honour to themselves and to their commander.

11. It was also resolved, that before the consuls set out from the city they should expiate several prodigies which had happened. On the Alban mount a statue of Jupiter, and a tree, standing near the temple; at Ostia, a grove; at Capua, a wall, and the temple of Fortune; and at Sinuessa, a wall and gate, were struck by lightning. Further, it was reported that the Alban water flowed in a bloody stream; that, at Rome, in the cell of the temple of Fors Fortuna, an image, which was in the crown of the goddess, fell from her head in her hands; that an ox spoke at Privernum; that a vulture, while the forum was crowded, flew down into one of the shops; and that, at Sinuessa, an infant was born whose sex was doubtful, such as are commonly called in Greek (a language more manageable than ours, particularly in the compounding of words) Androgynes; that a shower of milk fell; and that a boy was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were expiated with the larger kind of victims. Orders were given for a supplication to be performed at all the shrines, and prayers to be offered during one day, for the averting of misfortunes; and a decree passed that the pretor, Caius Hostilius, should vow and celebrate the games of Apollo, in like manner as they had of late years been vowed and celebrated. At the same time, the consul Quintus Fulvius held an assembly for the election of censors. The censors chosen were men who had never yet been consuls, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus. By direction of the senate the question was proposed to the people; and the people ordered that these, by their censoral authority, should let to farm the lands of Campania. The choosing of the senate was delayed by a dispute between the censors about the nomination of the prince of it: the making the choice had fallen, by lot, to Sempronius; but Cornelius alleged that he ought to observe the practice handed down from their ancestors, which was to appoint as prince the person who in the list of censors stood first of any then living, and this was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius maintained, that when the gods gave a person the lot of appointing, they gave him at the same time full freedom of choice: that he would act in this case agreeably to his own judgment, and would name, to the honour contended for, Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he could prove to be the first of the whole Roman state, even in Hannibal's opinion. After a long dispute his colleague gave up the point, and Sempronius chose the consul, Quintus Fabius Maximus, prince of the senate. Then the list of the new senate was read, in which eight were left out, among whom was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, infant son of the consul, who, after the defeat at Cannæ, advised the abandonment of Italy. In their

review of the equestrian order also, they censured every one concerned with him; but the number disgraced on that account was very small. From all the cavalry of the legions of Cannæ then in Sicily, and their number was great, their horses were taken away. To this they added another punishment in point of time; ordering that the campaigns which those men had served on horses given by the public should not entitle them to release, but that they should serve during ten others on horses of their own. They also searched for, and discovered, a great number, who ought to be ranked in the cavalry; and all of these who had been seventeen years old at the beginning of the war, and had not served, they disfranchised. They then contracted for the repairs of the buildings round the forum, which had been destroyed by the fire,—seven shops, the shambles, and the royal palace.

12. Having finished the necessary business at Rome, the consuls set out for the campaign. Fulvius, first, went forward to Capua; in a few days after Fabius followed, and he earnestly entreated his colleague in person, and Marcellus by letter, to make the most vigorous efforts to keep Hannibal employed, while he should carry on the siege of Tarentum; observing that, when that city should be taken from the enemy, who was already repulsed in every quarter, and would then have no place where he could rest, or to which he could retreat for safety, he would not have even a pretence for staying longer in Italy. He likewise sent an express to Rhegium, to the commander of the body of troops which the consul Lævinus had placed there, to act against the Bruttians, and which consisted of eight thousand men, all accustomed to live by plunder, the greater part of whom had been brought out of Sicily from Agathyrna, as was mentioned above. To these were joined many natives of the country, who deserted from the Bruttians, equally daring, and under equal necessity to dare every thing. He ordered this band to be led, first, to ravage the lands of Bruttium, and afterward to besiege the city of Caulon. These orders they executed, not only with diligence, but with avidity; and after plundering the country, and dispersing the inhabitants, attacked the city with their utmost vigour. Marcellus, incited by his colleague's letter, and also by an opinion which he had himself conceived, that he was the only Roman general able to cope with Hannibal, quitted his winter-quarters as soon as forage could be found, and met him at Canusium. The Carthaginian was at this time employed in endeavouring to entice the Canusians to revolt, but on hearing of Marcellus's approach, he decamped and retired. The country was open, affording no cover for an ambuscade, for which reason he resolved to draw back into more

woody tracts. Marcellus pressed close on his steps, encamped within view of him, and, as soon as the trenches were finished, drew out his legions and offered battle. Hannibal sent out single troops of cavalry, and the light spearmen from his infantry, to skirmish with the enemy, but did not think it advisable to risk the issue of a general engagement. He was however drawn into a contest of that sort which he wished to avoid: for although, by marching away in the night, he gained some ground of the enemy, yet Marcellus overtook him in an open country, and, as he was forming his camp, put a stop to his works, by attacking the workmen on all sides. In consequence of this a pitched battle ensued, in which all the forces on both sides were engaged; but night coming on, they separated, without any advantage being gained on either side. They then hastily, before it grew dark, fortified their camps, at a very little distance from each other. Next day, as soon as light appeared, Marcellus led out his forces to the field; nor did Hannibal decline the contest, but in a long speech exhorted his men to "remember Thrasymenus and Cannæ, and to crush the presumption of the foe, who pressed so closely on their steps; not suffering them either to march or encamp in quiet, or even to breathe, or look about them. Every day the rising sun and the Roman army appeared together on the plains. But if the enemy should once be compelled to quit the field, especially with some loss of blood, they would afterward conduct their operations with less turbulence and violence." Irritated by such expressions, and at the same time vexed at being continually harassed, on quitting their camp they began the fight with great fury. The battle was maintained for more than two hours; then, on the Roman side, the right wing and the chosen band, called extraordinaries, began to give ground; on observing which Marcellus brought up the eighteenth legion to the front. But, while the others were retiring in confusion, and these advancing with but little alacrity into their place, the whole line was disordered, and in a little time totally broken: at last, fear getting the better of their shame, they fairly turned their backs. In this battle, and the flight which followed, there fell no less than two thousand seven hundred of the Romans and allies; among these four Roman centurions, and two military tribunes, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Fulvius. Four military standards were lost by the wing which first fled, and two by the legions which advanced in the place of the flying allies.

13. After the army had retired into the camp, Marcellus reprimanded them in terms harsh and bitter, that they felt more from the discourse of their incensed commander,

than from all they had suffered in the unsuccessful fight through the whole day. He said to them, "as matters have turned out, I praise and thank the immortal gods, that the victorious enemy did not assault our camp itself, while you were hurrying into the gates and over the rampart in such utter dismay. You would certainly have abandoned that, through the same panic that made you give up the battle. What fright is this? What terror, what forgetfulness both of your own character, and that of your adversaries, has at once seized your minds? Surely they are the same enemies, in defeating and pursuing of whom you spent the whole of the last summer; who for some days past have fled before you night and day, while you pressed on their rear; whom yesterday you did not allow either to continue their march, or to form their camp. I say nothing of the advantages on which you ought to pride yourselves; but will mention what, of itself, ought to fill you with shame and remorse; yesterday you fought it out to the end on equal terms. What alteration has last night, what has this day made? Have your forces been diminished; have theirs been augmented? I cannot persuade myself that I am speaking to my own army, or to Roman soldiers. The arms and appearances of the men are such as usual. But, if you had possessed the usual spirit, would the enemy have seen your backs? Would he have carried off a standard from any one company or cohort? Hitherto, he has boasted of putting our legions to the sword: you, this day, have been the first who have conferred on him the glory of putting a Roman army to flight." On this the troops universally besought him to pardon their behaviour of that day; and entreated him, whenever he pleased, to make another trial of the courage of his soldiers. "I will try you, soldiers," said he, "and to-morrow will lead you into the field, that in the character of conquerors, not of vanquished men, you may obtain the pardon which you desire." He then ordered that the cohorts which had lost their standards, should receive barley for their allowance, and the centurions of the companies whose standards had been lost, he deprived of their swords; commanding that all, both infantry and cavalry, should be ready under arms on the following day. The assembly was now dismissed, all acknowledging that the reproofs which they had received were not more severe than they deserved; for that no person in the Roman army had, that day, behaved like a man, except the general alone, to whom they ought to make atonement, either by their death or by a glorious victory. On the day following they attended according to orders, armed and accoutred. The general then commended them, and said, that "he would bring forward,

into the first line, those who had fled first the day before, and the cohorts which had lost their standards; that he now gave notice, that it was incumbent on them to fight, and to conquer, and to exert themselves vigorously, one and all, to prevent the news of yesterday's flight reaching Rome before that of the present day's triumph." They were then ordered to refresh themselves with food, that in case the fight should last longer than usual, they might have strength to go through it. After every thing had been said and done to rouse the courage of the soldiers, they marched out to the field.

14. When this was told to Hannibal, he said, "We have to deal with an enemy who can neither bear good fortune nor bad: if he gets the better, he pursues the vanquished with presumption and vehemence: if he is worsted, he renews the contest with the victors." He then ordered the signal to be sounded, and led out his forces. Both parties fought now with much more vigour than the day before; the Carthaginians struggling to maintain the glory acquired yesterday, the Romans to remove their disgrace. On the side of the Romans, the left wing and the cohorts which had lost their standards, fought in the front line; while the twentieth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and Caius Claudius Nero, lieutenant-generals, commanded the wings; Marcellus himself took the charge of the centre, that he might animate the men by his presence, and be an immediate witness of their behaviour. On Hannibal's side, the front line was composed of the Spanish troops, who were the main strength of his army. When the fight had long continued doubtful, Hannibal ordered the elephants to be brought up to the van, hoping by their means to occasion fear and disorder. At first they broke the ranks, and by treading down some, and terrifying others, on either side, so as to put them to flight, made an opening in the line in one part; and the alarm would probably have spread further, had not Caius Decimius Flavius, a military tribune, snatching the standard of the first band of spearmen, ordered that company to follow him. He then led them to the spot where the elephants were throwing all into confusion, with directions to discharge their javelins at them. Every weapon took place, for there was no difficulty in hitting, at a small distance, bodies of such huge bulk, especially as they were crowded close together. But though they were not all of them wounded, yet those in whose flesh the javelin was struck, as they are creatures whose motions cannot be depicted, betaking themselves to flight, drove back even those that were unhurt. And now, not any particular company alone, but every soldier

who could come up with the retreating elephants, with all his might hurled javelins at them. Thus attacked, the more violently did the animals rush on their owners, and made so much the greater carnage of them, than they had made of the enemy, as one of them, when frightened or hurt, is hurried on more forcibly than he could be driven by the manager sitting on his back. While the enemy's line was in this great disorder, in consequence of those beasts breaking through it, the Romans made a brisk onset, and without much opposition from troops so scattered and confused, drove them off the ground. Marcellus ordered his cavalry to charge them as they fled, and the pursuit did not cease until they were driven, in consternation, into their camp: for besides other circumstances which caused terror and tumult, two elephants had fallen in the very entrance of the gate, so that the men were obliged to make their way over the trench and rampart. Here the slaughter of the enemy was the greatest. There were killed no less than eight thousand men, and five elephants. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of the two legions, about one thousand seven hundred were killed, and of the allies above one thousand three hundred. Great numbers, both of Romans and allies, were wounded. In the following night Hannibal decamped, and though Marcellus wished to pursue him, he was prevented by his wounded, which were in great number. Scouts, who were sent to observe his march, brought intelligence next day that Hannibal had taken the road towards Bruttium.

15. About the same time the Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Volscians, surrendered themselves to the consul Quintus Fulvius, delivering up Hannibal's garrisons which they had in their cities, and were mildly received by the consul with only a verbal reproof for their past errors. Hopes of similar gentle treatment were held out to the Bruttians also, through two brothers, Vibius and Pactius, of the most illustrious family of any in that nation, who came to request the same terms of capitulation which were granted to the Lucanians. The other consul, Quintus Fabius, took by assault Manduria, a town in the territory of Sallentum. Here he made four thousand prisoners, and gained much booty of other kinds. Proceeding thence to Tarentum, he pitched his camp at the very mouth of the harbour. Of the ships, which Livius had kept here for the purpose of protecting convoys, he loaded part with machines and implements fit for assailing walls; the rest he furnished with engines, stones, and missile weapons of every kind; the storeships also, not confining himself to such only as were moved by oars, he fitted out in the same manner, in order that some

might bring out the machines and ladders to the walls, while the others, from their ships at some distance, should annoy with missile weapons the men employed in defending them. These ships were thus fitted up and prepared for the purpose of an attack on that side of the city which is washed by the open sea, which was now clear of the enemy; for the Carthaginian fleet had sailed over to Corcyra, at the time when Philip was preparing to attack the Ætolians. Meanwhile the party which carried on the siege of Caulon in Bruttium, hearing of Hannibal's approach, and fearful of being overpowered, retired to an eminence, which, though it secured them from an immediate attack, was destitute of every other convenience. In the prosecution of the siege of Tarentum, Fabius received very great assistance towards the accomplishment of that important business, from an incident trivial in appearance; the Tarentines had in the city a party of Bruttians, given to them by Hannibal, and the commander of this party was desperately in love with a young woman, whose brother was in the army of the consul Fabius. This man, being informed by a letter from his sister of her new acquaintance with a stranger of so great wealth, and so highly honoured among his countrymen, conceived hopes that by means of his sister her lover might be brought into any scheme; and this project he communicated to the consul: his reasoning appeared not ill founded, and he was ordered to go as a deserter into Tarentum. Here being introduced by his sister to the notice of the commander, he began by artfully sounding his disposition, and having satisfied himself that his temper was as fickle as he could wish, by the aid of female blandishments he prevailed on him to betray the post, of which he commanded the guard. When both the method and the time for the execution of this design were settled, the soldier was let out of the town privately, through the intervals between the guards, and related to the consul what had been done, and what was further intended. At the first watch, Fabius, after giving proper directions to the troops in the citadel, and to those who had the guard of the harbour, went himself quite round the harbour, and sat down, in concealment, on the side of the city facing the east. The trumpets then began to sound at once, from the citadel, from the port, and from the ships which had been brought to the shore on the side next to the open sea. At the same time a shout was raised, and a prodigious tumult purposely made, on every side where there was very little danger. Meanwhile the consul kept his quarters very quiet and silent. Democrates, therefore, who had formerly commanded the fleet, and who happened now to be on the other hand there, perceiving every thing near him quiet, while

mult, and shouting like that of a city stormed, fearful lest, while he hesitated, the consul might force a passage and march in his troops, carried off his party to the citadel, because the most alarming noise proceeded from that quarter. Fabius, from the length of time, and likewise from the silence which prevailed, (for where, a little before, there was an uproar among the men rousing each other, and calling to arms, now not a word was heard,) imagined that the guard was withdrawn; he therefore ordered the ladders to be brought up to that part of the wall where, according to the information of the contriver of the plot, the cohort of Brutians held the guard. In this place, favoured and assisted by the Brutians, the Romans first gained possession of the wall, over which they climbed into the city; and then the nearest gate was broken open, that the troops might march through in a body. These entering the town a little before day, raised a shout, and without meeting any one in arms, proceeded to the forum, having drawn on themselves the attention of the combatants in every quarter, whether at the citadel or the harbour.

16. At the entrance of the forum a vigorous opposition was made, but it was not persevered in. A Tarentine was no match for a Roman, either in spirit, in arms, in warlike skill, nor yet in vigour, or bodily strength. They only discharged their javelins, and then, scarcely waiting till the fight began, turned their backs; and as they were acquainted with the streets of the city, ran different ways to their own houses, or those of their friends. Two of their commanders, Nico and Democrates, fell fighting courageously. Philomenus, who had been the author of the plot for betraying the city to Hannibal, rode away from the fight at full speed; his horse was not long after seen straying through the city without a rider, but his body was never found, and the general opinion was, that he fell from his horse into an open well. Carthalo, as he was coming to the consul unarmed, to remind him of their fathers being connected by an intercourse of hospitality, was slain by a soldier who met him in the way. The rest were put to the sword without distinction, armed and unarmed, Carthaginians and Tarentines alike. Many even of the Brutians were killed, either through mistake, or through the inveterate hatred borne towards them by the Romans, or with design to discountenance the report of the place being betrayed, and that it might rather appear to have been taken by force of arms. After this carnage, the victors proceeded in several parties to plunder the city. We are told that there were here thirty thousand persons in a state of servitude, a vast quantity of silver, wrought and coined, eighty-seven thousand pounds

weight of gold, together with statues and pictures in such numbers, as almost to rival the decorations of Syracuse. But Fabius, with more greatness of mind than was shown by Marcellus, refrained from meddling with booty of that sort; and when his secretary asked him what he would have done with the statues of their gods, which were of gigantic size, and habited like warriors, he ordered him to "let the Tarentines keep their angry gods to themselves." Then the wall, which separated the citadel from the town, was demolished and razed. Amid these transactions, Hannibal, having made prisoners the party employed in the siege of Caulon, who capitulated, hearing of the siege of Tarentum, marched night and day with all expedition to relieve it: but while he was hastening thither, he received the news of its being taken. On this he observed, "the Romans, too, have their Hannibal: we have lost Tarentum through the same arts by which we acquired it." That he might not, however, seem to have turned back as in flight, he encamped on the spot where he had halted, about five miles from the city; and, after staying there a few days, retreated to Metapontum. From hence he sent to Tarentum two Metapontines, with letters from the principal men in that state to Fabius, to receive his promise of impunity for what was past, on condition of their delivering Metapontum and the Carthaginian garrison into his hands. Fabius, supposing the offer to be made with sincerity, appointed a day on which he would come to Metapontum, and gave letters in answer, which were delivered to Hannibal, who, overjoyed at the success of his stratagem, and at finding that even Fabius was not proof against artifice, formed an ambuscade at a small distance from Metapontum. As Fabius was taking the auspices, previous to his departure from Tarentum, the birds repeatedly refused the favourable signs; also, when he consulted the gods by sacrifice, the aruspex warned him to beware of treachery and plots. As he did not come on the appointed day, the two Metapontines were sent back, to remove any scruple that retarded him, but being suddenly seized, and dreading an examination by torture, they disclosed the whole plot.

17. In Spain, in the beginning of the summer, there came over to Scipio, who had spent all the preceding winter in conciliating the affections of the barbarians, partly by presents, and partly by sending home their hostages and prisoners, a person named Edesco, a distinguished commander among the Spaniards. This man, whose wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; besides this motive, he was also actuated by that almost insurmountable propensity which had brought over all the Carthaginian

interest to that of the Romans. Led by the same motive, Indibilis and Mandonius, unquestionably the two first men in Spain, with the whole body of their countrymen, deserted Hasdrubal, and withdrew to an eminence overlooking his camp, from whence, along a continued ridge of hills, they could retire with safety to the Romans. When Hasdrubal saw the enemy's strength increasing by such large accessions, while his own was daily diminished, and would probably, unless by a bold effort he effected something, continue to decay, in the same manner as it had begun, he resolved to bring on a battle as soon as possible. Scipio was even more desirous of an engagement; as well because his hopes were strong, in consequence of the success which had hitherto attended his affairs, as because he wished to engage with a single general and his forces rather than with all together, which he would perhaps be forced to do were they to unite. However, should he be under a necessity of fighting more than one army at once, he had taken a judicious method to augment his strength: for, perceiving that there would be no employment for his marine, as the coast of Spain was entirely clear of any Carthaginian fleet, he hauled up the ships on land at Tarraco, and joined the marines to his land forces. As to arms for them, he had abundance, between those taken at Carthage, and those which had been afterward made by the great number of workmen whom he employed. With this force Scipio, in the beginning of spring, by which time he was rejoined by Lælius, who had returned from Rome, and without whom he undertook no enterprise of any extraordinary moment, set out from Tarraco, and advanced towards the enemy. On his march, during which he found every place well affected, the allies showing him all respect, and escorting him as he passed through each of their states, he was met by Indibilis and Mandonius, with their armies. Indibilis spoke for both, not with the ignorance and temerity of a barbarian, but with a modest gravity, appearing rather to apologize for their changing sides, as a measure of necessity, than to boast of it, as if it had been greedily embraced on the first opportunity; for "he knew," he said, "that the term deserter was deemed dishonourable by a man's old associates, and held in suspicion by the new: nor did he blame men for this manner of thinking; provided only that the merits of the case, and not the mere name, were made the grounds of this double aversion." He then enumerated his services to the Carthaginian generals; and, on the other hand, their avarice, tyranny, and ill-treatment of every kind heaped on him and his countrymen. "For these reasons," he said, "his body only had, hitherto, been on their side; his mind

had long been on that side where, he believed, that respect was paid to laws divine and human. To the gods themselves people have recourse with supplications for redress, when they can no longer endure the violence and injustice of men. He entreated Scipio not to consider their conduct as deserving either punishment or reward, but to form his judgment on a trial of them from that day forward, and by that standard to estimate the recompense which they might hereafter be thought to deserve." The Roman answered, that he would comply with their desire in every particular; and would not consider them in the light of deserters, because they had not thought themselves bound to adhere to such an alliance, when the other party scrupled not to violate every obligation, divine and human. Then their wives and children, being brought into the assembly, were restored to them, and received with tears of joy. That day they were entertained in lodgings prepared for them; and, on the next, the terms of association were ratified, and they were dismissed to bring up their forces; afterward they encamped in conjunction with the Romans, until they conducted them to the spot where the enemy lay.

18. The nearest army of the Carthaginians was that commanded by Hasdrubal, which lay near the city of Bæcuia. In the front of this camp he had posted advanced guards of cavalry. On these the Roman light infantry, the front rank, and those who composed the vanguard, instantly, as they arrived, and without waiting to choose ground for a camp, made an attack, and with such apparent contempt, as plainly demonstrated what degree of spirit each party possessed. The cavalry were driven within their works, whither they fled in confusion, pressed almost to the very gates. The action of that day having only whetted their ardour for a contest, the Romans pitched their camp. Hasdrubal, during the night, drew back his army to a hill, the summit of which was spread out into a level plain; on the rear of the hill was a river, and on the front and on either side it was encircled by a kind of steep bank: at some distance below this lay another plain, sloping downwards, the circumference of which was likewise bounded by another bank of equally difficult ascent. Into this lower plain Hasdrubal, next day, on seeing the enemy's line formed in front of their camp, sent down his Numidian cavalry and the light-armed Balearians and Africans. Scipio, riding round the companies and battalions, desired them to observe that the enemy, renouncing at once all hopes of being able to oppose them on plain ground, endeavoured to secure themselves on hills; waiting within sight, and confiding in the strength of their posts, not in their valour and their arms. But Roman soldiers had

mounted the higher defences of Carthage. Neither hills, nor a citadel, nor the sea itself, had stopped the progress of their arms. Those heights which the enemy had seized would answer no other purpose than that of compelling them, in their flight, to leap down crags and precipices; but he would prevent their escaping even in that way." Accordingly, he gave orders to two cohorts, that one of them should secure the entrance of the valley through which the river ran; and that the other should block up the road, which led from the city into the country, across the declivity of the hill. He then put himself at the head of the light troops, which had the day before beaten the enemy's advanced guards, and led them against the light-armed forces posted on the brink of the lower descent. For some time they proceeded over rough ground, without meeting any other obstacle than the difficulty of the way; afterward, when they came within reach, vast quantities of weapons of every sort were poured down on them; while, on their side, not only the soldiers, but a multitude of servants mixed among the troops, assailed the enemy with stones, which they found everywhere scattered, and which, in general, were of such a size as that they could be thrown by the hand. But though the ascent was difficult, and they were almost overwhelmed with darts and stones, yet, through the skill which they had acquired by practice in climbing walls, and the obstinacy of their courage, the foremost gained the summit. When they got on ground that was any way level, and where they could stand with firm footing, they soon beat back the enemy, who, though light and fit for skirmishing, and able enough to defend themselves at a distance, while an uncertain kind of fight was waged with missive weapons, yet, when the matter came to close fighting, were quite deficient in steadiness; so that they were driven with great slaughter into the line of troops posted on the higher eminence. On this Scipio, ordering the conquerors to press forward against their centre, divided the rest of the forces with Lælius, whom he ordered to go round the hill to the right, until he should find a gentler ascent, while he himself, making a small circuit to the left, charged the enemy in flank. This at once threw their line into disorder, though they attempted to change the position of their wings, and to face about their ranks towards the several shouts which assailed their ears from every quarter. During this confusion, Lælius also came up, and the enemy by retreating, through fear of being wounded from behind, broke their front line, and left an opening for the Roman centre, who never could have made their way up against ground so disadvantageous, had the ranks remained entire, and the elephants kept their posts in the front

of the battalions. While numbers were slain in every quarter, Scipio, who with his left wing had charged the right of the enemy, continued the attack with the greatest fury against their naked flank. And now the Carthaginians had not even a passage open for flight, for the Roman detachments had taken possession of the roads both on the right and on the left; add to this, that their commander and principal officers, in endeavouring to make their escape, filled up the gate of the camp, while the disorderly rout of the frightened elephants was as terrible to them as were the enemy. There were slain, therefore, not less than eight thousand men.

19. Hasdrubal had, before the battle, hastily sent off his treasure; and now, forwarding the elephants, he collected the flying troops, directing his course along the river Tagus towards the Pyrenees. Scipio took possession of the Carthaginian camp; and having bestowed on the soldiers all the booty, except the persons of free condition, he found, on taking an account of the prisoners, ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. Of these he sent home all the Spaniards without ransom, the Africans he ordered the questor to sell. On this the multitude of Spaniards who stood around, both those who had formerly surrendered, and those taken the day before, unanimously saluted him by the title of king. But Scipio, ordering the crier to command silence, told them, that "to him the highest title was that of general, which his soldiers had conferred on him: that the title of king, in other places highly respected, was at Rome deemed odious. They might, indeed, within their own breasts, judge him as possessing the spirit of a king, if they deemed that the most honourable perfection in a human mind, but they must refrain from the application of the name." Even these barbarians were sensibly affected by the greatness of his mind, that could look down contemptuously on a title which, from the rest of mankind, attracts wonder and admiration. He then distributed presents among the petty princes and chieftains of the Spaniards, desiring Indibilis to choose, out of the great number of horses taken, three hundred, such as he liked. While the questor, in pursuance of the general's order, was selling off the Africans, he observed among them a boy of extraordinary beauty; and, hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio. Scipio, asking him "who, and of what country he was; and why, at that early age, he had been found in a camp?" he told him that "he was a Numidian, called by his countrymen Massiva; that he was left an orphan, by the death of his father, he was educated in the family of his maternal grandfather, Gala,

ed being left an orphan, by the death of his father, he was educated in the family of his maternal grandfather, Gala,

come over into Spain with his uncle Masinissa, who had lately brought a body of cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians; that he had never before been in a battle, having been prohibited by Masinissa on account of his youth; but that, on the day of the engagement with the Romans, he had privately taken a horse and arms, and, unknown to his uncle, gone out into the field, where by his horse falling he was thrown to the ground, and made a prisoner by the Romans." Scipio, ordering the boy to be taken care of, finished what business was to be done at the tribunal; then, retiring into his pavilion, he called the youth, and asked him whether he wished to return to Masinissa? To which the other, his eyes suffused with tears of joy, replied, that above all things it was what he wished. He then gave as presents to him a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a golden clasp, likewise a horse fully accoutred; and, ordering a party of horsemen to escort him as far as he chose, sent him away.

20. He then held a council, to settle a plan of operations; when many advised him, without delay, to go in pursuit of Hasdrubal: but such a step he thought too hazardous, lest Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and Mago, should unite their forces with those of that commander. Contenting himself therefore with sending some troops to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, he passed the remainder of the summer in receiving the submissions of the Spanish states. Not many days after the battle fought at Bæcula, when Scipio, on his return to Tarraco, had just got clear of the pass of Castulo, the two generals, from the Farther Spain, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and Mago, joined Hasdrubal—a reinforcement too late, the battle being lost; but their coming was very seasonable in another respect, as it gave him the assistance of their counsel, respecting the measures to be taken for the further prosecution of the war. On this occasion, when they compared accounts of the dispositions of the Spaniards in each of their several provinces, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, alone, made a favourable report; giving his opinion, that the remote track of Spain, which lies on the ocean and about Gades, was, as yet, unacquainted with the Romans, and therefore sufficiently well affected to the Carthaginians. The other Hasdrubal and Mago agreed in pronouncing that "the affections of all, both in their public and private capacities, were attached to Scipio by the kind treatment which he gave them; and that there would be no end of desertions, until all the Spanish soldiers were either removed into the remotest part of Spain, or carried away into Gaul. Therefore, though the Carthaginian senate had passed no order for the purpose, yet it was necessary that Hasdrubal

should go into Italy, where the principal stress of the war lay, and where the final decision of it must be expected; in order, at the same time, to carry away all the Spanish soldiers out of Spain, and out of the way of hearing the name of Scipio: that the Carthaginian army, being greatly reduced, as well by desertions as by the late unfortunate battle, should be filled up with Spanish recruits: that Mago, giving up his forces to Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should go over in person to the Balearic islands, with a large sum of money, to hire auxiliaries: that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should, with the remainder, retire into Lusitania, and by no means come to an engagement with the Romans: that out of all their effective horsemen, a body of three thousand cavalry should be made up for Masinissa, to make excursions through what they called Hither Spain, succour their allies, and carry depredations through the towns and lands of the enemy." Having determined on these measures, the commanders separated, to put their resolves in execution. Such were the transactions of this year in Spain. At Rome, the reputation of Scipio rose higher every day. The taking of Tarentum, though effected by artifice rather than by courage, yet gave some degree of glory to Fabius. The lustre of Fulvius's character began to fade. Marcellus was even spoken of with displeasure, because, besides the failure in his first battle, he had in the middle of summer, while Hannibal was carrying his excursions through various parts of Italy, drawn off his army to Venusia, to lodge them in houses. He had a bitter enemy in Caius Publius Bibulus, a plebeian tribune: this man, ever since the battle which proved unfortunate, had, in frequent harangues, represented Claudius in a dishonourable light, endeavouring to render him odious to the commons; and he now proposed to deprive him of the command. The friends of Claudius nevertheless procured an order that Marcellus, leaving at Venusia a lieutenant-general, should come home to Rome, to clear himself of those charges, on which his enemies founded the resolutions which they proposed; and that, during his absence, no step should be taken towards divesting him of the command. It so happened that Marcellus came to Rome to rescue his character from disgrace, and the consul Quintus Fulvius to hold the elections at the same time.

21. The business respecting Marcellus's commission was debated in the Flaminian circus, amidst a vast concourse of plebeians, and people of all ranks. The tribune of the commons brought forward heavy charges, not only against Marcellus, but against the whole body of the nobles. "To their treacherous and dilatory conduct," he said, "it was owing, that Hannibal now held possession of Italy, as his province,

for the tenth year, and passed more of his life there than in Carthage. The Roman people now enjoyed the fruits of continuing Marcellus in command: his army, after being twice routed, was spending the summer at Venusia, and dwelling in houses instead of the camp." These and such like invectives of the tribune, Marcellus so thoroughly refused, by a recital of the services which he had performed, that not only the question concerning the annulling of his commission was negatived, but, on the day following, every one of the centuries, with the greatest unanimity, concurred in electing him consul. The colleague joined with him was Titus Quintius Crispinus, then a pretor. Next day were elected pretors, Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, then chief pontiff, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Julius Cæsar, Quintus Claudius, flamen. During the very time of the elections the public were much disturbed with apprehensions of a revolt in Etruria. That some scheme of that kind had been set on foot by the Arretians was asserted in a letter of Caius Calpurnius, who, in the character of proprætor, held the government of that province. Wherefore Marcellus, consul elect, was immediately despatched thither, with orders to inquire into the affair, and, if he should see occasion, to send for his army, and remove the war from Apulia to Etruria. The fear of this gave the Etrurians such a check as kept them quiet. Ambassadors from the Tarentines came to solicit a treaty of peace, requesting that they might be allowed to live in freedom under their own laws; but the senate desired them to come again, when the consul Fabius would have returned to Rome. Both the Roman and plebeian games were this year repeated for one day. The curule ediles were Lucius Cornelius Caudinus, and Servius Sulpicius Galba; the plebeian, Caius Servilius and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. Many people insisted that Servilius could not legally have held the office of tribune, nor could now hold that of edile, because it was well known that his father, who, for ten years, was supposed to have been killed by the Boians near Mutina, when triumvir for the distribution of lands, was still living, and in the hands of the enemy.

22. In the eleventh year of the Punic war commenced the consulate of Marcus Marcellus, a fifth time, (reckoning the consulship, which, because of an irregularity in the election he did not hold,) and Titus Quintius Crispinus. It was decreed that both the consuls should be employed in Italy, as their province; and that out of the two consular armies of the preceding year, with a third, which was at Venusia, and had been under the command of Marcellus, the consuls were to choose whatever two they liked; and the

third was to be assigned to the commander, to whose lot the province of Tarentum and Salentum should fall. The other provinces were distributed in this manner: with regard to the pretors, the city jurisdiction was assigned to Publius Licinius Varus; the foreign, with such other employment as the senate should direct, to Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff; Sicily to Sextus Julius Cæsar, and Tarentum to Quintus Claudius, flamen. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was continued in command for the year, and ordered with one legion to hold the government of the province of Capua, which had been held by Titus Quintius, when pretor. Caius Hostilius Tubulus was likewise continued, that, as proprætor he might succeed Caius Calpurnius in the command of the two legions in Etruria; and Lucius Veturius Philo was continued, that he might, in quality of proprætor, retain the government of his present province of Gaul, with the same two legions which he had there when pretor. With regard to Caius Aurunculeius, who, in his pretorship, had, with two legions, held the government of the province of Sardinia, the senate passed a decree in the same terms with that respecting Lucius Veturius, but, for the defence of that province, an additional force was assigned him of fifty ships of war which Scipio was to send from Spain. The business of continuing all these officers in command was laid before an assembly of the people. To Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus, their present province of Spain; and the armies at present with them, were decreed for the year. An order was sent to Scipio that, out of eighty ships which he then had—some brought with him from Italy, some taken at Carthage—he should send fifty over to Sardinia; because a report prevailed that great naval preparations were going on at Carthage, where the intention was to overspread the whole coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, with a fleet of two hundred sail. The business of Sicily was divided thus: the troops of Cannæ were given to Sextus Cæsar; Marcus Valerius Lævinus (for he also was continued in authority) was to have the fleet of seventy ships which lay on the coast of that island. To these were joined the thirty ships which had been at Tarentum the year before; and with this fleet of one hundred sail, if he thought proper, he was to pass over and make depredations on Africa. Publius Sulpicius, also, was continued in command for the year, that he might hold the province of Macedonia and Greece with the same fleet which he had before. With respect to the two legions which remained in the city of Rome, no alteration was made. Leave was given for the consuls to raise recruits, to complete the troops wherein there was any deficiency of numbers. Twenty-

one legion were employed this year in the service of the Roman empire. A charge was given to Publius Licinius Varus, city pretor, to repair thirty old ships of war, which lay at Ostia, and to furnish twenty new ones, with their full complement of men, that he might have a fleet of fifty sail to guard the sea coasts in the neighbourhood of Rome. Caius Calpurnius was forbidden to remove his army from Arretium before the arrival of his successor. Both he and Tubero were ordered to be particularly watchful on that side, lest any new schemes might be formed.

23. The pretors went to the provinces, but the consuls were detained by business respecting religion; for they could not readily effect the expiation of several prodigies which had been reported. From Campania accounts were brought that two temples at Capua, those of Fortune and Mars, and several tombs, were struck by lightning; and at Cumæ, mice gnawed some gold in the temple of Jupiter; so apt is superstitious weakness to introduce the deities into the most trivial occurrences; that at Casinum, a very large swarm of bees settled in the forum; at Ostia, a wall and gate were struck by lightning; at Cære, a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; and that at Vulsinii blood flowed from a lake. On account of these portents there was a supplication performed of one day's continuance. During many successive ones, sacrifices were offered of victims of the larger kinds, and yet no favourable omens appeared, nor, for a long time, was there any indication of the gods becoming propitious. The baneful events, thus forehoded, affected not immediately the safety of the state, but fell on the persons of the consuls. The Apollinarian games had been first celebrated by the city pretor, Cornelius Sulla, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius; and, thenceforward, all the city pretors in succession had performed them; but they vowed them only for one year, and fixed no particular day for their observance. This year a grievous epidemic disorder fell both on the city and country: however, the sickness was rather tedious than mortal. On account of this malady, a supplication was performed in all the streets of Rome, the city pretor, Publius Licinius Varus, being at the same time ordered to propose to the people to enact a law, that a vow should be made for the perpetual celebration of those games on a stated day. Accordingly he himself first engaged for it, holding the games on the third day of the nones of July, which day has ever since been observed as an anniversary festival.

24. The rumours concerning the Arretians grew every day more and more alarming, and greatly increased the anxiety of the senate; wherefore orders were despatched to

Caius Hostilius, not to defer taking hostages from that people; and Caius Terentius Varro was sent with a commission to receive them from him, and conduct them to Rome. On his arrival, Hostilius immediately ordered one legion, which was encamped before the gates, to march into the city; and then, having posted guards in proper places, he summoned the senate to attend him in the forum, and make a demand of hostages. The senate requested two days' time to consider the matter; but he insisted that they should give them instantly, or he would next day take all the children of the senators. He then directed all the military tribunes, prefects of the allies, and centurions, to guard the gates carefully, that no one might go out of the city in the night. This was not performed with proper care and diligence; for, before the guards were posted at the gates, or night came on, seven principal senators made their escape with their children. At the first light, on the day following, the senate being summoned into the forum, they were missed, and their property was sold. From the rest of the senators one hundred and twenty hostages were received, who were their own children, and they were delivered to Caius Terentius, to be conducted to Rome. He represented every thing to the senate in such a light, as greatly increased their suspicions; wherefore, as if the hostile intentions of the Etrurians were no longer to be doubted, an order was given to Caius Terentius himself to lead one of the city legions to Arretium, and to keep it there, as a garrison to the city. It was at the same time determined, that Caius Hostilius, with the rest of the troops, should make a circuit through the whole province, that those who wished to excite disturbances might have no opportunity of putting their designs in execution. When Caius Terentius, with the legion, arrived at Arretium, and demanded from the magistrates the keys of the gates, they told him that they were not to be found; but he believing rather that they had been put out of the way through some evil design, than lost through negligence, put on new locks, making use of every precaution to keep all things under his own power. He earnestly cautioned Hostilius not to expect to retain the Etrurians in quiet by any other means than by putting it out of their power to stir.

25. About this time the business of the Tarentines occasioned a warm debate in the senate, where Fabius was present, exerting himself in favour of those whom he had subdued by arms, while others spoke of them with much asperity, charging them as equal punishment with the Campanians. The senate resolved, conformably to the opinion of Manius Acilius, that

the town should be secured by a garrison, and all the Tarentines confined within the walls, and that the business should be taken under consideration at a future time, and when Italy should be in a state of greater tranquillity. The case of Marcus Livius, governor of the citadel of Tarentum, was also debated with no less warmth: some advised to pass a vote of censure on him, because that, in consequence of his indolence, Tarentum had been betrayed to the enemy; while others thought him deserving of reward, for having defended the citadel for five years, and for having, singly, been the principal cause of the recovery of Tarentum. Moderate people affirmed that the cognizance of his conduct belonged to the censors, not to the senate; and of this opinion was Fabius; nevertheless adding—"Livius was, no doubt, the cause of Tarentum being recovered, as his friends have so often boasted in the senate; but it should be borne in mind, that it could not have been recovered if it had not been lost." The consul, Titus Quintius Crispinus, marched with a reinforcement into Lucania, to join the army formerly commanded by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Marcellus was detained by several obstacles respecting religion, which occurred in quick succession to disturb his mind: one of which was, that, having in the battle with the Gauls at Clastidium vowed a temple to Honour and Virtue, he had been hindered by the pontiffs from dedicating it, for they insisted that one shrine could not with propriety be consecrated to more than one deity; because, if it should be struck with lightning, or any kind of prodigy happen in it, the expiation would be difficult, as it could not be determined to which of the deities sacrifice ought to be made; for one victim could not, properly, be offered to two divinities, unless they were known to be two to whom such victim must be acceptable. Wherefore a separate temple was erected to Virtue, and the work pushed forward with haste: nevertheless, these temples were not dedicated by him. At length he set out, with a number of recruits, to join the army, which he had left the year before at Venusia. Crispinus, observing the great degree of fame which the taking of Tarentum had procured to Marcellus, prepared to lay siege to Locri, in Bruttium, sending to Sicily for engines and machines of all sorts, and calling over a fleet from thence, to attack that quarter of the city which stretched down to the sea. But he laid aside his design of the siege, because Hannibal had advanced to Licinium: he heard, too, that his colleague had led out his army from Venusia, which made him wish to unite their forces. Crispinus therefore withdrew from Bruttium into Apulia, and the two consuls sat down in separate camps, distant from each other less than three miles, between Venusia and

Dantia. Hannibal also returned into the same country, as soon as he had saved Locri from a siege. And now the consuls, being both impatient for action, offered battle almost every day; not doubting but that, if the enemy would hazard an engagement with the two consular armies united, they might effectually put an end to the war.

26. As Hannibal, of the two battles which he had fought with Marcellus the year before, had gained one and lost the other, he might now, in case of an engagement with the same antagonist, find reasonable grounds both of hope and fear; but he could, by no means, believe himself equal to a contest with the two consuls together. Applying himself, therefore, wholly to his old artifices, he watched an opportunity for an ambuscade. However, several skirmishes were fought between the camps with various success, and the consuls began to think that the summer might be spun out in this manner. They were of opinion, however, that the siege of Locri might, nevertheless, be prosecuted; and they wrote to Lucius Cincius to come over with the fleet from Sicily to that place; and to carry on the siege on the land side, they ordered half the troops in garrison at Tarentum to march thither. Hannibal, having received previous intimation from some Thurians of these intended measures, sent a party to lie in ambush on the road from Tarentum. There, under the hill of Petellia, three thousand horsemen and two thousand foot were placed in concealment; and the Romans marching carelessly, without having examined the road, fell into the snare, where no less than two thousand soldiers were killed, and about twelve hundred taken prisoners: the rest flying different ways, through the fields and woods, returned to Tarentum. Between the Roman and Carthaginian camps stood a hill, interspersed with trees, which neither party at first had occupied, because the Romans knew not the nature of the ground on the side which faced the camp of the enemy, and Hannibal had judged it to be better fitted for an ambush than for a camp: accordingly he sent thither for the purpose a strong detachment of Numidians, whom he concealed in the middle of a thicket; not one of whom stirred from his post in the day, lest either their arms or themselves might be observed from a distance. There ran a general murmur through the Roman camp, that this hill ought to be seized and secured by a fort, lest, if Hannibal should get possession of it, they should have the enemy as it were over their heads. The observation struck Marcellus, and he not go ourselves with a few men to his colleague, "Why the place? After examining the matter with our own eyes, we shall be able to judge with more certainty." Crispinus

assenting, they proceeded to the spot, attended by two hundred and twenty horsemen, of whom forty were Fregellans, the rest Etrurians: they were accompanied by two military tribunes, Marcus Marcellus, the consul's son, and Aulus Manlius, and by two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arennius and Marcus Aulus. Some writers have recorded that the consul Marcellus offered sacrifice on that day, and that on the first victim being slain, the liver was found without its head; in the second, all the usual parts appeared, but there was a swelling observed on the head of the liver; the aruspex also observing, that in the second case, the entrails, being imperfect and foul, offered no very happy presages.

27. But the consul Marcellus was possessed with such a passionate desire for a trial of strength with Hannibal, that he never thought his own camp close enough to his; and on this occasion, as he was passing the rampart, he left directions that every soldier should be ready in his place, in order that, if the hill which they were going to examine, should be approved of, the whole might strike their tents, and follow them thither. In front of the camp was a small plain, and the road, leading thence to the hill, was open on all sides, and exposed to view. A watchman whom the Numidians had posted, not in expectation of an opportunity so important as this, but with the hope of cutting off any party that might straggle too far in search of wood or forage, gave them the signal to rise at once from their concealments. Those who were to come forth from the summit and meet the enemy in front did not show themselves until the others, who were to enclose them on the rear, had got round. Then all sprung forward from every side, and raising a shout, made a furious onset. Though the consuls were so situated in the valley that they could neither force their way up the hill, which was occupied by the enemy, nor, surrounded as they were, effect a retreat, the dispute might nevertheless have been protracted for a longer time, had not the Etrurians began to fly, and thereby filled the rest with dismay. However, the Fregellans, though abandoned by the Etrurians, did not give up the contest, as long as the consuls remained unhurt; who, by their exhortations, and their own personal exertions, supported the spirit of the fight; but, afterward, seeing both the consuls wounded, and Marcellus pierced through with a lance, and falling lifeless from his horse, then the few betook themselves to flight, carrying with them Crispinus, who had received two wounds from javelins, and young Marcellus, who was also hurt. One of the military tribunes, Aulus Manlius, was slain; of the two prefects of the allies, Marcus Aulus was killed, and Lucius Arennius taken: of the lictors of the consuls

five fell alive into the enemy's hands; of the rest, some were slain, the others fled with the consul. Forty-three norsemen fell in the fight and pursuit, and eighteen were made prisoners. The troops in camp had taken the alarm, and were going to succour the consuls, when they saw one consul, and the other consul's son, both wounded, and the small remains of the unfortunate party on their return. The death of Marcellus, unhappy in other respects, was no less so in this, that by conduct, ill becoming either his age, (for he was now above sixty years old,) or the prudence of a veteran commander, he had so improvidently precipitated himself, his colleague, and, in some measure, the whole commonwealth, into such desperate hazard. I should engage in too many and too long discussions on a single event, if I were to recite all the various relations given by different writers of the death of Marcellus. To omit other authors, Lucius Cælius presents us with three different narratives of that occurrence; one received by tradition; another written and contained in the funeral panegyric, delivered by his son, who was present in the action; and a third, which he produces as the real state of the fact, discovered by his own inquiries. But how much soever reports vary, most of them, notwithstanding, concur in stating that he went out of his camp to view the ground, and all, that he was slain in an ambuscade.

28. Hannibal, supposing that the enemy must be greatly dismayed by the death of one of their consuls, and the wounds of the other, and wishing not to lose any advantage which a juncture so favourable might afford, removed his camp immediately to the hill on which the battle had been fought. Here he found the body of Marcellus, and interred it. Crispinus, disheartened by his colleague's death and his own wounds, decamped in the silence of the following night, and on the nearest mountains that he could reach, pitched his camp in an elevated spot, secure on all sides. On this occasion, the two commanders displayed great sagacity in their proceedings, while one endeavoured to effect, the other to guard against deception. Hannibal had, with Marcellus's body, gotten possession of his ring, and Crispinus, fearing lest mistakes occasioned by means of this signet might give room to the Carthaginian for practising some of his wiles, sent expresses round to all the neighbouring states to inform them that "his colleague had been slain, that the enemy was in possession of his ring, and that they should, therefore, give no credit to any letters written in the name of Marcellus." This message from the consul had but just arrived at Salapia, when a letter was brought thither from Hannibal, written in the name of Marcellus, intimating that "he would come to Salapia on the night

which was to follow that day; and directing that the soldiers of the garrison should be ready in case he should have occasion to employ them." The Salapians were aware of the fraud; and judging that Hannibal, whom they had incensed, not only by their defection from his party, but by killing his horsemen, was seeking an opportunity for revenge, sent back his messenger, who was a Roman deserter, in order that the soldiers might act, as should be thought proper, without being watched by him; they then placed parties of the townsmen on guard along the walls, and in the convenient parts of the city, forming the guards and watches for that night with more than ordinary care. On each side of the gate through which they expected the enemy to come they placed the main strength of the garrison. About the fourth watch Hannibal approached the city: his vanguard was composed of Roman deserters, armed also in the Roman fashion. These, when they came to the gate, as they all spoke the Latin language, called up the watchmen, and ordered them to open the gate, for the consul was at hand. The watchmen, as if awakened by their call, were all in a hurry and bustle, striving to open the gate which had been shut by letting down the portcullis: some raised this with levers, others pulled it with ropes to such a height, that men might come in without stooping. Scarcely was the passage sufficiently opened, when the deserters rushed in eagerly through the gate; and, when about six hundred had entered, the rope by which it was kept suspended being loosened, the portcullis fell down with a great noise. Part of the Salapians now attacked the deserters, who, as if among friends, carried their arms carelessly on their shoulders, as on a march; while the rest, from the tower adjoining the gate and from the walls, beat off the enemy with stones, and pikes, and javelins. Thus Hannibal, ensnared by an artifice worthy of himself, was obliged to retire, and went thence to raise the siege of Locri, which Cincius was pushing forward with the utmost vigour, having constructed various works, and being supplied with engines of every kind from Sicily. Mago, who almost despaired of being able to hold out and maintain the defence of the city, received the first gleam of returning hope from the news of Marcellus's death. This was soon followed by an express, acquainting him that Hannibal, having sent forward the Numidian cavalry, was hastening after, at the head of the main body of infantry, with all the speed he could make. As soon, therefore, as he understood, by signals made from the watch-towers, that the Numidians were drawing nigh, he with his own forces, suddenly throwing open a gate, rushed out furiously on the besiegers. The suddenness of

his attack, rather than inequality of strength, at first made the dispute doubtful; but afterward, when the Numidians came up, the Romans were struck with such dismay, that they fled in confusion towards the sea and their ships, leaving behind their works and machines which they used in battering the walls. In this manner did the approach of Hannibal raise the siege of Locri.

29. When Crispinus learned that Hannibal had gone into Bruttium, he ordered Marcus Marcellus, military tribune, to lead away to Venusia the army which had been under the command of his colleague; and he himself, with his own legions, set out for Capua, being scarcely able to endure the motion of a litter, his wounds were so very painful. But he first despatched a letter to Rome, with an account of Marcellus's death, and of his own dangerous situation. "It was not in his power," he said, "to go to Rome to attend the elections, because he was sure he should not be able to bear the fatigue of the journey; and besides, that he was uneasy about Tarentum, lest Hannibal might march thither from Bruttium. It was therefore necessary that some persons should be commissioned to come to him in his quarters, men of prudence, to whom he could with freedom speak his thoughts on the present state of affairs." The reading of this letter caused great sorrow for the death of one consul, and apprehensions for the safety of the other. The senate therefore sent Quintus Fabius the younger to Venusia, to take the command of the army there; and deputed three persons to wait on the consul, Sextus Julius Cæsar, Lucius Licinius Pollio, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who had a few days before come home from Sicily. These were ordered to deliver a message to the consul, that if he could not come himself to Rome, to hold the elections, he would, within the Roman territories, nominate a dictator for that purpose; and directions were given, that in case the consul should have gone to Tarentum, then Quintus Claudius, the pretor, should lead the army from its present quarters into that part of the country where he could afford protection to the greatest number of the cities of the allies. In the course of this summer Marcus Valerius passed from Sicily to Africa with a fleet of one hundred sail; and, making a descent near the city of Clupea, ravaged the country to a great extent, meeting scarcely any one. After which, the troops employed in these depredations made a hasty retreat to their ships, in consequence of a sudden report that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching. The fleet consisted of eighty-three ships, with which the Roman commander came to an engagement not far from Clupea, and gained a complete victory. After taking sixteen ships, and dispersing

the rest, he returned to Lilybæum with abundance of booty, acquired both on land and sea.

30. Philip, during this summer, brought assistance to the Achæans, in compliance with their earnest entreaties; for, on one side, Machanidas, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, harassed them continually by irruptions from his territories, which lay contiguous to theirs; and on another the Ætolians, transporting an army in ships through the strait which runs between Naupactus and Pairæ, called by the neighbouring inhabitants Rhios, had spread devastations through the country. A report also prevailed that Attalus, king of Asia, intended to come over into Europe, because the Ætolians, in their last general council, had constituted him chief magistrate of their state. While Philip was, for all these reasons, marching down into Greece, he was met at the city of Lamia by the Ætolians, under the command of Pyrrhias, who had been created pretor for that year, conjointly with Attalus, on account of the latter's absence. Besides their own forces, they had a body of auxiliaries sent by Attalus, and about one thousand men from the Roman fleet of Publius Sulpicius. Against this commander, and these forces, Philip fought twice with success; and, in each battle, slew at least one thousand. The Ætolians being so greatly dismayed as to keep themselves close under the walls of Lamia, Philip led back his army to Phalara. This place, being situated on the Malian bay, was formerly thickly inhabited, on account of its excellent harbour, the safe anchorage on either side, with other commodious circumstances, to which both the sea and the land contributed. Hither came ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the Rhodians, Athenians, and Chians, with intent to compose the differences between Philip and the Ætolians. The Ætolians also invited a mediator from among their neighbours, Amynder, king of Athamania. But the concern of all was engaged, not so much by their regard for the Ætolians, who were remarkable for an arrogance unbecoming a Grecian state, as by their wishes to prevent Philip from interfering in any of the affairs of Greece; an interference which would be highly dangerous to the general liberty. The deliberations concerning a pacification were adjourned to the meeting of the council of the Achæans, and a certain time and place were fixed for that assembly. In the mean time a truce for thirty days was obtained. The king, proceeding thence through Thessaly and Bœotia, came to Chalcis in Eubœa, with design to exclude Attalus from the harbours and coasts, for intelligence had been received that he intended to come to Eubœa with a fleet. Afterward, leaving there a body of troops to oppose Attalus in case he should happen to arrive

in the mean time, and setting out himself with a few horsemen and light infantry, he came to Argos. Here the superintendence of the games of Hærean Juno and Nemæan Hercules being conferred on him by the suffrages of the people, because the kings of the Macedonians affect to derive the origin of their family from that city, he performed those in honour of Juno; and, as soon as they were finished, went off instantly to Ægium, to the council summoned some time before. In this assembly several schemes were proposed for putting an end to the Ætolian war, that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have any pretence for entering Greece. But every measure of the kind was defeated at once by the Ætoliens, when the time of the truce had scarcely expired, on their hearing that Attalus was arrived at Ægium, and that the Roman fleet lay at Naupactus: for being called into the council of the Achæans, where were likewise present the same ambassadors who had treated of a pacification at Phalara, they at first complained of some trifling acts committed during the truce, contrary to the faith of the convention, at last declaring that the war could not be terminated on any other terms than by the Achæans giving back Pylus to the Messenians, Atintania to the Romans, and Ardyæa to Scerdilædus and Pleuratus. Philip, conceiving the utmost indignation at the vanquished party presuming to prescribe terms to their conqueror, said, that "in listening before to proposals of peace, or in agreeing to a truce, he had not been led by any expectation that the Ætoliens would remain quiet, but by his wish to have all the confederates witnesses that the object of his pursuits was peace; of theirs, war. Thus, without any thing being effected towards an accommodation, he dismissed the assembly, left five thousand soldiers to protect the Achæans, receiving from them five ships of war, with which, added to a fleet lately sent to him from Carthage, and some vessels then on their way from Bithynia, sent by King Prusias, he had resolved, if he could effect the junction, to try his strength in a naval engagement with the Romans, who had long been masters of the sea in that part of the world. After dissolving the council, he went back to Argos, because the time of the Nemæan games was approaching, and he wished to give them, by his presence, an additional degree of splendour.

31. While the king was employed in the celebration of the games, and, during that season of festivity, indulging his mind in relaxation from military operations, Publius Sulpicius, setting sail from Naupactus, arrived on the coast between Sicyon and Corinth, making violent depredations on that fine and fertile country. The news of this event called away Philip from the exhibition. He marched off with ra-

pidity at the head of his cavalry, leaving orders for the infantry to follow; and, while the Romans were straggling at random, and heavily laden with booty, not apprehending any danger of the kind, he attacked and drove them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet returned to Naupactus with little cause of triumph for the booty which they had taken. On the other side, Philip, by the same of a victory, whatever might be its real importance, gained however over Romans, added greatly to the lustre of the remaining part of the games; and the festival was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings, to which he contributed also by his popular behaviour; for, laying aside his diadem, purple robe, and other royal apparel, he set himself, with respect to appearance, on a level with the rest; than which nothing can be more grateful to the people of free states. This conduct would have afforded very strong hopes of general liberty, had he not debased and dishonoured all by intolerable debauchery; for, night and day, with one or two attendants, he ranged through the houses of married people. He had lowered his dignity to the common level, consequently the less conspicuous he appeared, the less restraint he was under; and thus the liberty of which he had given others an empty prospect, he stretched to the utmost in the gratification of his own unlawful desires. Money and seductive discourses were not always sufficient for his purposes; he even employed violence in aid of them, and dangerous was it for husbands and parents to show inflexible strictness in obstructing the brutal passions of the king. He took from Aratus (a man of distinction among the Achæans) his wife, named Polycratia; and, deluding her with the hope of being married to a sovereign prince, carried her into Macedonia. After spending the time of the celebration of the games, and several days after they were finished, in this scandalous manner, he marched to Dymæ, with design to dislodge a garrison of the Ætolians, who had been invited by the Eleans, and received into that city. At Dymæ he was joined by the Achæans, under Cycliades their chief magistrate, who were inflamed with hatred against the Eleans, because they refused to unite with the other states of Achaia, and highly incensed against the Ætolians, whom they believed to be the authors of the war carried on against them by the Romans. Leaving Dymæ, and uniting their forces, they passed the river Larissus, which separates the territory of Elis from that of Dymæ.

32. The first day on which they entered the enemy's borders they spent in plundering. On the next, they advanced to the city in order of battle, having sent forward the cavalry, to ride up to the gates, and provoke the Ætolians, who were

ever well inclined to embrace an opportunity of rallying out from their works. They did not know that Sulpicius, with fifteen ships, had come over from Naupactus to Cyllene, and landing four thousand soldiers, had, in the dead of night, lest his march should be observed, thrown himself into Elis. When therefore they perceived, among the Ætolians and Eleans, the Roman standards and arms, an appearance so unexpected filled them with the greatest terror. At first the king had a mind to order a retreat, but the Ætolians being already engaged with the Trallians, a tribe of Illyrians so called, and his party appearing to have the worst of the contest, he himself, at the head of his cavalry, made a charge on a Roman cohort. Here the horse of Philip, being pierced through with a spear, threw him forward over his head to the ground; which gave rise to a furious conflict between the contending parties; the Romans pressing hard on the king, and his own men protecting him. His own behaviour on the occasion was remarkably brave, although he was obliged to fight on foot, among squadrons of cavalry. In a short time, the dispute becoming unequal, great numbers being killed and wounded near him, he was forced away by his soldiers, and, mounting another horse, fled from the field. He pitched his camp that day at the distance of five miles from the city of Elis; and, on the next, led all his forces to a fort called Pyrgus, where, as he had heard, a multitude of the country people with their cattle had run together through fear of being plundered. This irregular and unarmed crowd were so utterly dismayed at his approach, that he at once made himself master of the whole, and by this seizure gained compensation for whatever disgrace he had sustained at Elis. While he was distributing the spoil and prisoners, the latter amounting to four thousand men, and the cattle of all kinds to twenty thousand, news arrived from Macedonia that a person called Eropus had, by bribing the commander of the garrison and citadel, gained possession of Lychnidus; that he had also got into his hands some towns of the Dasaretians, and was besides endeavouring to persuade the Dardanians to take arms. In consequence of this intelligence, dropping the prosecution of the war between the Achæans and Ætolians, but leaving however two thousand five hundred soldiers, of one sort or other, under the command of Menippus and Polyphantas, to assist his allies, he marched away from Dymæ, through Achæa, Bœotia, and Eubœa, and on the tenth day arrived at Demetrias in Thessaly. Here he was met by other soldiers, with accounts of still more dangerous commotions into Macedonia, had already poured down into the plain of Arge-
 that the Dardanians, and marched
 on Orestis, and that a report prevailed

among the barbarians that Philip had been slain. This rumour was occasioned by the following circumstance:—In his expedition against the plundering parties near Sicyon, being carried by the impetuosity of his horse against a tree, a projecting branch broke off one of the side ornaments of his helmet, which being found by an Ætolian, and carried into Ætolia to Scerdilædus, who knew it to be the cognizance of the king, it was supposed that he was killed. After Philip's departure from Achaia, Sulpicius, sailing to Ægina, joined his fleet to that of Attalus. The Achæans gained the victory in a battle with the Ætolians and Eleans, fought near Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius wintered at Ægina.

33. Towards the close of this year the consul Titus Quintus Crispinus, after having nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside at the elections, and solemnize the games, died of his wounds, according to some writers, at Tarentum, according to others in Campania. Thus was there a concurrence of events, such as had never been experienced in any former war; while the two consuls being slain, without having fought any memorable battle, left the commonwealth, as it were, fatherless. The dictator Manlius appointed Caius Servilius, then curule edile, his master of the horse. The senate, on the first day of its meeting, ordered the dictator to celebrate the great games, which Marcus Æmilius, city pretor, had exhibited in the consulate of Caius Flaminius and Cneius Servilius, and had vowed to be repeated at the end of five years. Accordingly, he not only performed them now, but vowed them for the next lustrum. But as the two consular armies, without commanders, were so near the enemy, both the senate and people, laying aside all other concerns, made it their chief and only care to have consuls elected as soon as possible, and especially that they should be men whose courage was so tempered by prudence as to guard them sufficiently against Carthaginian wiles: for it was considered that, as through the whole course of the present war, the too warm and precipitate tempers of their generals had been productive of great losses, so, in that very year, the consuls, through excessive eagerness to engage the enemy, had fallen unguardedly into their snares; that the gods, however, compassionating the Roman nation, had spared the troops, who were guiltless of the fault, and had decreed that the penalty incurred by the rashness of the commanders should fall on their own heads. When the senate looked round for proper persons to be appointed to the consulship, Caius Claudius Nero at once met their view as eminently qualified beyond all others. They then sought a colleague for him. They well knew him to

be a man of extraordinary abilities, but, at the same time, of a temper more sanguine and enterprising than was expedient in the present exigences of the war, or against such an opponent as Hannibal; and therefore they thought it necessary to qualify his disposition by joining with him a man of moderation and prudence.

34. Many years before this, Marcus Livius, on the expiration of his consulship, had been judged guilty of misconduct by a sentence of the people; and he was so deeply affected by this disgrace that he retired into the country, and for a long time avoided not only the city, but all intercourse with mankind. About eight years afterward, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Valerius Lævinus, then consuls, brought him back into Rome; but still he appeared in a squalid dress, and suffered his hair and beard to grow, displaying in his countenance and garb a more than ordinary sensibility of the censure passed on him. When Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius were censors, they compelled him to be shaved, to lay aside his sordid apparel, to attend the meetings of the senate, and perform other public duties. But, after all this, he used to give his vote either by a single word, or by going to the side of the house which he approved, until a trial came on in the cause of Marcus Livius Macatus, a man to whom he was related, and whose character was at stake; and this obliged him to deliver his sentiments at large in the senate. The speech which he made, after so long an interval of silence, drew on him all eyes, and became the subject of much conversation: it was asserted that "the people had treated him with great injustice, and that the consequences of this undeserved ill-treatment had been highly injurious to that very people; as, during a war of such importance and danger, the state had been deprived both of the services and counsels of so great a man. With Caius Nero, neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Lævinus could be joined in office, because the law did not allow the election of two patricians. The same objection lay against Titus Manlius, besides that he had before refused the offer of the consulship, and would again refuse it. But if the election of Marcus Livius, in conjunction with Caius Nero, could be effected, then they would have such consuls as could scarcely be equalled." Nor were the commons disinclined to the proposal, although it took its rise from the patricians. One only person in the state, the person to whom the measure was offered, objected to the measure; charging the people with levity and inconstancy, he said, that "when he appeared before them in the situation of a defendant, in a mourning habit, they refused him their compassion; yet now they forced on him the

white gown against his will, heaping punishment and honours on the same object. If they deemed him an honest man, why had they condemned him as wicked and guilty? If they had discovered proofs of his guilt, after seeing such reason to repent of having trusted him with the consulship once, why intrust him with it a second time?" While he uttered these, and such like reproaches and complaints, he was checked by the senators, who bade him recollect that "Camillus, though exiled by his country, yet returned at its call, and re-established it, when shaken from the very foundations; that it was the duty of a man to mollify by patience, and to bear with resignation, the severity of his country, like that of a parent." By the united exertions of all, Marcus Livius was elected consul with Caius Clandius Nero.

35. Three days after the election of pretors was held, and there were chosen into that office Lucius Porcius Licinus, Caius Mamilius Aulus, and Caius Hostilius Cato. As soon as the elections were concluded, and the games celebrated, the dictator and master of the horse resigned their offices. Caius Terentius Varro was sent, as propretor, into Etruria, in order that Caius Hostilius might go from that province of Tarentum to take the command of the army which had acted under the late consul, Titus Quintius; and that Titus Manlius might go beyond sea, in the character of ambassador, to observe what business was going on abroad; and also, as during that summer the Olympic games were to be exhibited, which were also attended by the greatest concourse of the people of Greece, that he might go to that assembly, if not prevented by the enemy, and inform any Sicilians whom he should find driven there, and any citizens of Tarentum, banished by Hannibal, that they might return to their homes, and might be assured that the Roman people meant to restore to them the whole of the property which they possessed before the war began. As the approaching year seemed to threaten the greatest dangers, and there were, as yet, no magistrates for the administration of public affairs, all men directed their attention to the consuls elect, and wished them, as speedily as possible, to cast lots for their provinces, that each of them might know beforehand what province and what antagonist he was to have. Measures were also taken in the senate, on a motion made by Quintus Fabius Maximus, to reconcile them to each other; for there subsisted between them an avowed enmity, which on the side of Livius, was the more inveterate, as, during his misfortunes, he had felt himself treated with contempt by the other. He was therefore the more obstinately implacable, and insisted, that "there was no need of any reconciliation:

for they would conduct all business with the greater diligence and activity, while each should be afraid, lest a colleague, who was his enemy, might find means of exalting his own character at the other's expense." Nevertheless, the influence of the senate prevailed on them to lay aside their animosity, and to act with harmony and unanimity in the administration of the government. The provinces allotted to them were not, as in former years, a joint command in the same districts, but quite separate, in the remotest extremities of Italy: to one, Bruttium and Lucania, where he was to act against Hannibal; to the other, Gaul, where he was to oppose Hasdrubal, who was now said to be approaching to the Alps. It was ordered that the consul to whose lot Gaul fell, should of the two armies (one of which was in Gaul, and the other in Etruria) choose whichever he thought proper, and join to it the city legions: and that he to whom the province of Bruttium fell, should, after enlisting new legions for the city, take his choice of the armies commanded by the consuls of the preceding year; and that the army left by the consul should be given to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, and that he should continue in command for the year. To Caius Hostilius, to whom they had assigned the province of Tarentum, in exchange for Etruria, they now gave Capua instead. One legion was ordered for him,—that which Fulvius had commanded the year before.

36. The public anxiety respecting Hasdrubal's march into Italy increased daily. At first, envoys from the Massilians brought information that he had passed into Gaul, and that the inhabitants of that country were in high spirits on the occasion; because it was reported that he had brought a vast quantity of gold for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries. In company with these envoys, on their return, were sent from Rome, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Retius, to inquire into the matter; who brought back an account that they had sent persons with Massilian guides, who, by means of some Gallic chieftains, connected in friendship with the Massilians, might procure exact intelligence of every particular; and that they had discovered with certainty that Hasdrubal, having already collected a very numerous army, intended to pass the Alps in the following spring, and that nothing prevented his doing it immediately, but the passes of those mountains being shut up by the winter. Publius Ælius Pætus was elected and inaugurated into the office of augur, in the room of Marcus Marcellus; and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella into that of king in rebus; and religious matters, in the room of Marcus Marcius, who had held two years before. In this year, the first time since

Hannibal's coming into Italy;

the lustrum was closed by the censors, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. The number of citizens rated was one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight, a number much smaller than it had been before the war. It is recorded that in this same year the comitium was covered, and the Roman games once repeated by the curule ediles, Quintus Metellus and Caius Servilius; and the plebeian games twice, by the plebeian ediles, Quintus Mamilius and Marcus Cæcilius Metellus. These also erected three statues in the temple of Ceres, and there was a feast of Jupiter on occasion of the games. [A. U. C. 545. B. C. 207.] Then entered on the consulship Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius, a second time; and as they had already, when consuls elect, cast lots for their provinces, they now ordered the pretors to do the same. To Caius Hostilius fell the city jurisdiction, to which the foreign was added, in order that three pretors might go abroad to the provinces. To Aulus Hostilius fell Sardinia; to Caius Mamilius, Sicily; and to Lucius Porcius, Gaul. The whole of the legions, amounting to twenty-three, were distributed in such manner that each of the consuls should have two, Spain four, the three pretors, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Gaul, two each; Caius Terentius, in Etruria, two; Quintus Fulvius, in Bruttium, two; Quintus Claudius, about Tarentum and Sallentum, two; Caius Hostilius Tubulus, at Capua, one; and two were ordered to be raised for the city. For the first four legions the people elected tribunes; for the rest they were appointed by the consuls.

37. Before the consuls left home the nine days' solemnity was performed, on account of a shower of stones having fallen from the sky at Veii. The mention of one prodigy was, as usual, followed by reports of others; that the temple of Jupiter at Minturnæ, a grove at Marica, a wall and a gate of Atella, had been struck by lightning. The people of Minturnæ said, what was still more terrifying, that a stream of blood had flowed in at one of their gates: at Capua, too, a wolf came into one of the gates, and tore the sentinel. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the greater kinds; and a supplication of one day's continuance was ordered by the pontiffs. The nine days' solemnity was afterward performed a second time, on account of a shower of stones seen to fall during the armilustrum. The people's minds were no sooner freed from religious apprehensions than they were again disturbed by an account that at Frusino an infant was born of a size equal to that of a child four years old, and wonderful, not only for its bulk, but for its sex being doubtful; as had been the case of the one born two years before at Sinuessa. Aruspices, sent

from Etruria, denounced this to be a portent particularly horrid, that ought to be exterminated from the Roman territories, and without being suffered to touch the earth; drowned in the sea. Accordingly, they shut it up alive in a chest, and threw it into the deep. The pontiffs likewise issued a mandate, that thrice nine virgins should go in procession through the city, singing a hymn. While they were employed in the temple of Jupiter Stator, learning this hymn, which was composed by the poet Livius, the temple of Imperial Juno, on the Aventine, was struck by lightning. The aruspices, having delivered their judgment that this prodigy had respect to the matrons, and that the goddess ought to be appeased by an offering, the curule ediles, by an edict, summoned together into the capitol all those matrons who had houses in the city of Rome, or within ten miles of it; and from this number they chose twenty-five, to whom they paid in a contribution out of their own effects. With this money a golden basin was made, and carried to the Aventine, where the matrons, with every demonstration of purity and sanctity, immolated to the goddess. Immediately after, the decemvirs, by proclamation, appointed a day for another sacrifice to the same divinity, which was conducted in the following order:—from the temple of Apollo, two white heifers were led into the city, through the Carmental gate; after them were carried two cypress images of Imperial Juno; then followed the twenty-seven virgins clad in long robes, singing the hymn in honour of that deity. This hymn might perhaps to the uninformed judgments of those times, appear to have merit, but, if repeated at present, it would seem barbarous and uncouth. The train of virgins was followed by the decemvirs, crowned with laurel, and dressed in purple-bordered robes. From the gate they proceeded through the Jugurian street into the forum: here the procession halted, and a cord was given to the virgins, of which they all took hold, and then advanced, beating time with their feet to the music of their voices. Thus they proceeded through the Tuscan street, the Velabrum, the cattle-market, and up the Publician hill, until they arrived at the temple of Imperial Juno. There two victims were offered in sacrifice by the decemvirs, and the cypress images were placed in the temple.

38. After due expiations consuls began to enlist soldiers with more strictness and severity than had been formerly practised within the borders of the new enemy, advancing doubly formidable. As the number of serving was considerable

were offered to the gods, the severity of any then living; for towards Italy, made the war diminished, they resolved to

compel even the maritime colonies to furnish soldiers, although they were said to enjoy, under a solemn grant, an immunity from service. At first, they refused compliance; on which the consuls published orders that each state should, on a certain day, produce before the senate the title on which it claimed such exemption. On the day appointed, the following states appeared before the senate; Ostia, Alsia, Antium, Anxur, Minturnæ, Sinuessa; and, from the coast of the upper sea, Sena. These recited their several claims; but none of them were allowed, except those of Antium and Ostia; and even in these two colonies the young men were obliged to swear that, while the enemy remained in Italy, they would not lodge out of the walls of their colonies longer than thirty days. Although it was the opinion of all, that the consuls ought to open the campaign as early as possible, as it would be necessary to oppose Hasdrubal immediately on his descent from the Alps, lest he might seduce the Cisalpine Gauls and Etruria, which latter already entertained sanguine hopes of effecting a revolt; also, that it would be necessary to give Hannibal full employment in his own quarters, lest he might extricate himself from Bruttium, and advance to meet his brother: yet Livius delayed, not being satisfied with the forces destined for his provinces, while his colleague had a choice of two excellent consular armies, and a third which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum; he therefore introduced a proposal of recalling the volunteer slaves to the standards. The senate gave the consuls unlimited power to fill up their companies with any men whom they approved; to choose out of all the armies such as they liked, and to exchange them, and remove them from one province to another, as they should judge best for the public service. In the management of all these matters, the greatest harmony prevailed between the consuls; and the volunteer slaves were enrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some writers say that on this occasion powerful reinforcements were also sent from Spain by Publius Scipio to Marcus Livius; eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, two thousand legionary soldiers, and a body of cavalry composed of Numidians and Spaniards, in number one thousand eight hundred; that Marcus Lucretius brought these forces by sea, and that Caius Mamilius sent from Sicily four thousand archers and slingers.

39. The disquietude at Rome was increased by a letter brought out of Gaul from the pretor Lucius Porcius; the contents of which were, that "Hasdrubal had moved out of winter-quarters, and was now on his passage over the Alps: that eight thousand of the Ligurians were imbodyed and

armed, and would join him as soon as he arrived in Italy, unless an army were sent into Liguria to attack them beforehand; as to himself, he would advance as far as he should think it safe with his small force." This letter obliged the consuls to finish the levies with haste, and to set out for their respective provinces earlier than they had intended; for their purpose was; that each should keep his antagonist employed in his own province, so as not to suffer the two to combine their forces into one body. An opinion, formed by Hannibal, helped to farther their design; for though he believed that his brother would make good his way into Italy during the course of that summer, yet, when he reflected on the difficulties with which he had himself struggled, first in the passage of the Rhone, then in that of the Alps, fighting against men, and against the nature of the places, for five successive months, he had not the least expectation that the other would be able to effect his purpose with so much more ease and expedition; and, for this reason, he was the later in quitting his winter-quarters. But Hasdrubal found every thing to proceed more easily and expeditiously than either himself or others had even ventured to hope; for the Arvernians, and afterward the other Gallic and Alpine tribes, not only gave him a friendly reception, but even accompanied him to the war. Then, in most parts of the country through which he marched, roads had been made by his brother in places until then impassable; besides which, as the Alps had, for twelve years, been a constant route for divers people, he found the disposition of the inhabitants much improved: for in former times, being never visited by foreigners, or accustomed to see a stranger in their country, they were unsociable towards all the human race. Being ignorant at first of the destination of the Carthaginian, they had imagined that his object was their rocks and forts, and to make prey of their men and cattle: but the accounts which they heard of the Punic war, and by which Italy had so long been harassed, by this time fully convinced them that the Alps were only used as a passage, and that two overgrown states, separated by vast tracks of sea and land, were contending for power and empire. These causes opened the Alps to Hasdrubal. But whatever advantage he gained from the celerity of his march, he lost it all by delaying at Placentia, where he carried on a fruitless blockade, rather than an attack. He had supposed that the reduction of a town, standing in a plain, would be easily accomplished; and being a colony of great wealth, he was persuaded that, by destroying this city, he should fill the rest with terror. That siege, however, not only impeded his own progress, but also stopped Hannibal, when he was just setting out from his

- winter-quarters, in consequence of hearing that his brother had reached Italy, so much more quickly than he had expected: for he considered not only how tedious the siege of a city is, but also how ineffectually he himself, going back victorious from the Trebia, had attempted that same colony.

40. The consuls taking different routes, when setting out to open the campaign, drew the anxiety of the public in opposite directions, as if to two distinct wars at once; for, besides their recollection of the heavy calamities which Hannibal's first coming had brought on Italy, people were further distressed by doubts of the issue. "What gods," said they to themselves, "would be so propitious to our city, and to the empire, as to grant success to their arms in both quarters at the same time? Hitherto the business had been protracted by a counterpoise of successes and misfortunes. When in Italy, at the Thrasymenus and Cannæ, the Roman power had been crushed to the earth, a number of successful efforts in Spain had raised it up from its fallen state: when afterward, in Spain, a succession of defeats, in which two excellent commanders were lost, had, in a great measure, ruined the two armies, the many advantages gained by the Roman arms in Italy and Sicily had afforded shelter to the shattered vessel of the state. Besides, even the distance of place, one war being then carried on in the remotest extremity of the world, allowed room to breathe: but now, two wars had penetrated into the very heart of Italy; two commanders, of the most distinguished reputation, stood on the opposite sides of the city of Rome; and the whole mass of danger, the entire burden, pressed on one spot. Whichever of these commanders should first gain a battle, he would, in a few days after, join his camp with the other." The preceding year, also, having been saddened by the deaths of the two consuls, served to augment the general apprehensions. Such were the melancholy forebodings which perplexed the minds of the people, as they escorted the commanders on their departure to their provinces. Historians have mentioned, that Marcus Livius, when setting out for the campaign, being still full of resentment against his countrymen, and warned by Quintus Fabius "not to come to a battle hastily, or before he was well acquainted with the kind of enemy whom he had to encounter;" answered, that "the first moment that he should get a sight of that enemy, he would fight him:" being asked the reason of such eagerness, he replied, "I will acquire either extraordinary glory from the defeat of the foe, or joy from that of my countrymen; and though the latter might not perhaps redound to my honour, yet it is certainly what they have deserved at my hands." Before the consul Claudius arrived in his province, as Han-

Hannibal was leading his army towards Sallentum, through the very borders of the Larinatian frontiers, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, with some lightly accoutred cohorts, attacked him, and caused dreadful confusion among his unmarshalled troops, killing four thousand men, and taking nine military standards. Quintus Claudius, who had his forces cantoned through the towns in the territory of Sallentum, on being apprized of the enemy's motions, marched out of his winter-quarters: wherefore, Hannibal, lest he should be obliged to encounter the two armies at once, decamped in the night, and withdrew from the Tarentine territory into Bruttium. Claudius fell back to the country adjoining Sallentum. Hostilius, on his march towards Capua, met the consul Claudius at Venusia; and here were selected, out of both armies, forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, with which the consul was to act against Hannibal. The rest of the forces Hostilius was ordered to lead to Capua, that he might deliver them up to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul.

41. Hannibal, having drawn together his forces from all quarters, both those which he had hitherto kept in winter-quarters, and those which were in garrison in the Bruttian territory, came into Lucania to Grumentum, in hope of regaining the towns which, through fear, had joined the Romans. To the same place came the Roman consul from Venusia, carefully examining the roads as he went, and pitched his camp at the distance of about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. From hence the rampart of the Carthaginians seemed to be almost close to the wall of Grumentum; the actual distance, however, was five hundred paces. Between the Carthaginian and Roman camps the ground was level; and on the left-hand side of the Carthaginians, and right of the Romans, stood some naked hills, from which neither party apprehended any mischief, because there were no woods, nor any covering for an ambuscade. Parties sallying from the advanced posts fought several skirmishes of little consequence. It appeared plainly that the Roman general had no other object in view than to hinder the enemy from quitting the place; while Hannibal, wishing to get away, frequently drew out his whole strength, and offered battle. On this occasion the consul adopted the crafty genius of his adversary; and, as there could be little apprehension of a surprise, the hills being open, and having been examined by his scouts, he ordered five cohorts, with five additional companies, to pass over their summit in the night, and conceal themselves in the valleys on the other side. The time when they were to rise from their ambush he settled with Tiberius Claudius Asellus, military tribune

and Publius Claudius, prefect of the allies, whom he sent at their head. He himself, at the dawn of day, drew out all his forces, both foot and horse, into the field. In a short time after Hannibal also, on his side, displayed the signal for battle, and a great noise ensued in his camp, while the men ran hastily to arms. Then all, both horse and foot, rushed eagerly out of the gates, and scattering themselves over the plain, advanced hastily to attack the enemy. The consul, observing them in this disorder, commanded Caius Aurunculeius, tribune of the third legion, to make his cavalry charge them with all possible fury, remarking, that "they had spread themselves like cattle over the plain, and in such confusion that, before they could be formed, they might be ridden down and trodden under foot."

42. Hannibal had not yet come out of his camp, when he heard the shouts of the troops engaged: alarmed at this, he led his forces with all speed towards the enemy. The charge of the Roman cavalry had already distressed his van, and, of their infantry, the first legion and the right wing were coming into action, while the Carthaginians, without any regular order, began the fight just as chance threw each in the way of either horsemen or footmen. The combatants on both sides were sustained by reinforcements; and Hannibal, in the midst of the terror and tumult, would have formed his line while fighting, which is no easy matter, unless to a veteran commander, and in the case of veteran troops, but that the shout of the cohorts and companies, running down from the hills, and which was heard on their rear, struck them with the fear of being cut off from their camp; and had it not been near, (seized as they were with a panic, and flying in every part,) very great numbers would have been slain: for the cavalry stuck close to their rear, and the cohorts, running down the declivity of the hills, over clear and level ground, assailed them in flank. However, upwards of eight thousand men were killed, more than seven hundred men made prisoners, and nine military standards were taken. Even of the elephants, which in such a sudden and irregular action had been of no use, four were killed, and two taken. Of the Romans and their allies there fell about five hundred. Next day the Carthaginian kept himself quiet. The Roman brought his army into the field, and when he saw that none came out to meet him, he ordered the spoils of the slain to be collected, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together and buried. After this, for several successive days, he pushed up so close to the enemy's gates, that he seemed to intend an assault; but at length Hannibal decamped, at the third watch of the night, and made towards Apulia, leaving a great number of fires

and tents on the side of the camp which faced the enemy, and a few Numidians, who were to show themselves on the ramparts and at the gates. As soon as day appeared the Roman army came up to the trenches, the Numidians, as directed, showing themselves for some time on the ramparts: having imposed on the enemy as long as possible, they rode off at full speed, until they overtook the body of their army. The consul, perceiving the camp perfectly silent, and no longer seeing anywhere even the small number who had paraded in view, at the dawn of day, despatched two horsemen to examine the state of the works; and when he learned with certainty that all was safe, he ordered his army to march in. Here he delayed no longer than while his men collected the plunder; then, sounding a retreat, long before night, he brought back his forces into their tents. Next day, at the first light, he set out, and following by long marches the tracks of the Carthaginians by such intelligence as he could procure, overtook them not far from Venusia. Here likewise an irregular kind of battle was fought, in which above two thousand of the fugitives fell. From thence, Hannibal, marching in the night, and taking his way through mountains, that he might not be forced to an engagement, proceeded towards Metapontum: from which place Hanno, who commanded the garrison of the town, was sent with a small party into Bruttium to raise fresh forces; while Hannibal, with the addition of the garrison to his own troops, went back to Venusia by the same roads through which he had come, and thence to Canusium. Nero had never quitted the enemy's steps, and when he was going himself to Metapontum, had sent orders to Quintus Fulvius to come into Lucania, lest that country should be left without defence.

43. In the mean time Hasdrubal, having raised the siege of Placentia, sent four Gallic horsemen, and two Numidians, with a letter for Hannibal; these, after traversing almost the whole length of Italy, through the midst of enemies, in order to follow him on his retreat to Metapontum, mistook the road, and went towards Tarentum, where they were seized by some Roman foragers, roving through the country, and conducted to the propretor, Quintus Claudius. At first, they eluded his inquiries by evasive answers; but on being threatened with torture, fear truth, and they confessed that letter to Hannibal. With this prisoners were given in charge to a tribune, to be conducted to troops of Samnite horse were caused the letter to be read having examined the prison-

they were charged with a letter, sealed as it was, the consul Lucius Virginius, military tribune, and two centurions, went to escort them. Claudius, and he concluded that the pre-

ent conjuncture of affairs was not of such a nature as to require that the consuls should carry on the war according to regular plans, each within the limits of his own province, by means of his own troops, and against an antagonist pointed out by the senate; but that some extraordinary and daring stroke should be struck, such as could not be foreseen or thought of, which at its commencement might cause no less dread among their countrymen than among the enemy; but, when accomplished, would convert their great fears into as great exultation. Wherefore, sending Hasdrubal's letter to Rome, to the senate, he at the same time acquainted the conscript fathers with his intentions, advising that, as Hasdrubal had written to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria, they should immediately call home the legion then at Capua, raise new levies, and post the city army at Narnia, to intercept the enemy. Such were the contents of his letter to the senate: for himself, he sent on messengers, through the districts of Larina, Marrucia, Frentana, and Prætutia, along the road which he intended to take with his army; giving directions that all the inhabitants should bring down from their towns and farms victuals ready dressed for the soldiers, and that they should furnish horses and other beasts of burden, so that the weary might be accommodated with easy transports. He then selected from the Romans and allies the flower of their armies, consisting of six thousand foot and one thousand horse; and giving out that he meant to seize on the nearest town in Lucania and the Carthaginian garrison therein, he ordered them all to be ready for a remove. Having set out in the night, he turned off towards Picenum, and, making the longest possible marches, proceeded directly towards his colleague, having left the command of the camp to Quintus Cadius, lieutenant-general.

44. At Rome there was no less fright and consternation than had been felt two years before, when the Carthaginian camp was brought close to the walls and gates of the city: nor could people well determine whether they should commend or blame the consul for his boldness in undertaking such an adventurous march. It was evident that his reputation would depend on the issue, though there is not perhaps a more unfair method of judging. People considered, with alarming apprehensions, that "the camp, in the neighbourhood of such a foe as Hannibal, had been left without a general, and under the guard of an army, the strength of which had been carried away: that the consul, pretending an expedition into Lucania, when in fact he was going to Picenum and Gaul, had left his camp destitute of any other means of safety than merely the enemy's want of information as to the general and a part of his army having quitted it. What

would be the consequence if this should be discovered, and if Hannibal should resolve, either with his whole army to pursue Nero, whose entire force was but six thousand men, or to assault the camp, which was left as a prey, without strength, without command, without auspices?" The past disasters of this war, and the deaths of the two consuls in the last year, served also to increase these terrible fears. Besides, they reflected that "all those misfortunes had happened while there was but one general and one army of the enemy in Italy; whereas, at present, there were two Punic wars there, two numerous armies, and, in a manner, two Hannibals: for Hasdrubal was a son of the same father, Hamilcar; was a commander equally enterprising, trained to making war against the Romans during many campaigns in Spain, and rendered famous by a double victory over them, by the destruction of two of their armies and two of their ablest commanders. With respect to the speedy accomplishment of his march from Spain, and his address in rousing the Gallic clans to arms, he had much more reason to boast than Hannibal himself; because he had collected a body of auxiliaries in those very places where the other had lost the greater part of his soldiers by hunger and cold, the two most miserable ways in which men can perish." To all this, people acquainted with the transactions in Spain added, that "in Nero he would meet an antagonist with whom he was not unacquainted; one whom, formerly when caught accidentally in a dangerous defile, he had baffled, just as he would a child, by fallacious terms of peace." Seeing every thing through the medium of fear, which always represents objects in the worst light, they judged all the resources of the enemy greater, and their own less, than they were in reality.

45. When Nero had attained to such a distance from the enemy that his design might be disclosed with safety, he addressed his soldiers in a few words, telling them that "no general had ever formed a design more daring in appearance, and yet more safe in the execution, than his: that he was leading them to certain victory; for as his colleague had not marched against that enemy until the senate had given him such a force, both of infantry and cavalry, as fully satisfied his utmost wishes, and those troops more numerous and better provided than if he were to go against Hannibal himself, the addition thus made to it, whatever might be its intrinsic weight, would certainly turn the scale in his favour. As soon as the foe should hear, in the field of battle, (and he would take care that they should not hear sooner,) that another consul and another army had arrived, this single circumstance would ensure success. A war was, sometimes, happily concluded by the spreading of a report; and inci-

dents of light moment frequently impelled men's minds to hope or fear. That themselves would reap almost the whole fruits of the glory acquired by success; for, in all cases, the last addition made to the acting force is supposed to be most decisive of the business. That they saw, by the concourse of people attending, with what admiration, and with what warm attachment of all ranks, their march was honoured." And, in fact, all the roads through which they passed were lined with men and women, who crowded thither from all parts of the country, uttering vows and prayers for their success; intermixing praises of their glorious enterprise; calling them the safeguard of the commonwealth, the champions of the city, and of the empire of Rome; on whose arms, and on whose valour, were reposed the safety and liberty of themselves and of their children. They prayed to all the gods and goddesses to grant them a prosperous march, a successful battle, and speedy victory: that they themselves might be bound by the event to pay the vows they offered in their behalf; and that as they now, with minds full of solicitude, accompanied them on their way, so they might, in a few days, go out with hearts overflowing with joy to meet them in triumph. Every one gave them warm invitations, offered them every accommodation, and pressed them with the most earnest entreaties to take from him, rather than from another, whatever was requisite for themselves or their cattle; in a word, every thing that was wanted they with cheerfulness supplied in abundance. Their kindness was equalled by the moderation of the soldiers, who would not accept of any matter whatever beyond their necessary occasions. They never halted on any account, nor quitted their ranks to take their victuals, but marched day and night, scarcely allowing themselves rest enough to answer the calls of nature. Couriers were sent forward to the other consul, to give notice of their coming, and to know from him whether he chose that they should approach secretly or openly, by night or by day; whether they should lodge in the same camp with him or in another. It was judged best that they should join him secretly in the night.

46. Orders were previously given by the consul Livius, that, on their arrival, each tribune should be accommodated with a lodging by a tribune, each centurion by a centurion, each horseman by a horseman, and each footman by a footman. He considered that it would not be prudent to enlarge the camp, lest the enemy might discover the coming of the second consul; while the crowding together of additional numbers, into lodgings in a narrow space, would be attended with the less inconvenience, as the troops of Claudius had brought with them hardly any thing except their arms.

Claudius had augmented his army with a number of volunteers; for many, both veteran soldiers discharged from service, and young men, offered themselves on his march; and, as they eagerly pressed to be employed, he enlisted such of them as, from their personal appearance, seemed fit for the service. The camp of Livius was near Sena, and Hasdrubal lay about five hundred paces beyond it. Wherefore Nero, to avoid entering it before night, halted when he came nigh, and where he was concealed behind mountains. As darkness came on, his men, marching silently, were conducted into tents, each by a person of his own rank; where they were hospitably entertained, amid mutual congratulations and unbounded joy. Next day a council was held, at which was also present the pretor Lucius Porcius Licinus. At this time his camp was joined to that of the consuls. It should however be noticed, that before their coming he had often baffled and perplexed the enemy, leading his troops along the high ground; sometimes seizing narrow defiles to arrest his march, sometimes harassing him by attacks on his rear or flanks, and putting in practice, indeed, every art of war. He now assisted at the council. Many were of opinion that an engagement should be deferred until Nero might refresh his men, who were fatigued by their long march, and want of sleep; and also, that he should take a few days to himself to gain some knowledge of the enemy. Nero, with the utmost earnestness, entreated them not, "by delays, to render his enterprise rash in effect, when despatch would ensure its success. In consequence of a deception, which could not last long, Hannibal lay yet, in a manner, motionless; he neither assailed his camp, left as it was without its commander, nor moved a step in pursuit of him. Before he should stir, Hasdrubal's army might be cut off, and he himself might return into Apulia. Whoever, by procrastination, allowed time to the enemy, would thereby betray the other camp to Hannibal, and open for him a road into Gaul, so as to enable him at his leisure to effect a junction with Hasdrubal, and whenever he pleased. They ought to give the signal instantly, march out to battle, and to take every advantage of the delusion under which the enemy lay, both the party in their neighbourhood, and the other at a distance, while the latter knew not that their opponents were decreased in number, nor knew that their opponents become more numerous and powerful." Accordingly the council was dismissed, the signal of battle was displayed, and the troops immediately marched out to the field.

47. The Carthaginians were drawn out in order of battle before their camp. an immediate engagement

that Hasdrubal having,

with a few horsemen, advanced before the line, remarked among the enemy some old shields, which he had not seen before, and horses leaner than any he had hitherto observed; their number also seemed greater than usual. On which, suspecting what was the case, he hastily sounded a retreat; sent a party to the watering place at the river, with orders to pick up, if possible, some prisoners; also to observe attentively whether there were any whose complexions were more sunburnt than usual, as from a journey lately made: at the same time, ordering another party to ride round the camp, at a distance, to mark whether the rampart had been extended on any side, and to watch whether the signal was sounded a second time. Though he received account of all these particulars, yet the circumstance of the camp's not being enlarged led to a false conclusion: they were two, as before the arrival of the second consul; one belonging to Marcus Livius, the other to Lucius Porcius; and no addition had been made to the trenches of either, to make more room for tents within. One thing particularly struck that veteran commander, long accustomed to act against Roman armies, which was, that according to the information of his scouts, the signal was sounded once in the pretor's camp, and twice in the consuls'. Hence he concluded that the two consuls must be there; but how to account for Nero's having left Hannibal behind perplexed him extremely. Of all things, he could the least suspect what had really happened, that Hannibal could be so blinded, and in a business of such magnitude, as not to know where the general was, and where the army whose camp stood facing his own. He supposed that some disaster of no ordinary kind must have hindered him from following; and he began to fear greatly that he himself had come too late with succour, that his affairs were too desperate to be retrieved, and that the same fortune which the Romans had met in Spain awaited them now in Italy. He even conjectured that his letter had not reached his brother; and that, in consequence of its being intercepted, the consul had hastened thither to overpower him. Distracted by these doubts and fears, he extinguished all his fires; and, at the first watch, ordered his troops to strike their tents in silence, and to march. In the hurry and confusion of a movement by night the guides were not watched with the necessary care and attention; one of them, therefore, stopped in a place of concealment, which he had before fixed on in his mind, and the other swam across the river Metaurus, at a pass with which he was acquainted. The troops, thus left destitute of conductors, strayed for some time through the country; and many, overcome by drowsiness and fa-

tigue, stretched themselves on the ground in various places, leaving the standards thinly attended. Hasdrubal, until daylight should discover a road, ordered the army to proceed along the bank of the river; and as he wandered along the turnings and windings, with which that river remarkably abounds, he made but little progress; still intending, however, to cross it, as soon as the day enabled him to find a convenient passage. But the farther he removed from the sea the higher did he find the banks; so that not meeting with a ford, and wasting the day in the search, he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

48. First, Nero, with all the cavalry, came up; then Porcius, with the light infantry. While they harassed his wearied army by frequent assaults on every side, and while the Carthaginian, now stopping his march, or rather flight, had a mind to encamp on a high spot of ground, on the bank of the river, Livius arrived with the main body of infantry armed, and marshalled for immediate action. When the Romans had united all their forces, and the line was drawn out in array, Claudius took the command of the right wing, Livius of the left; that of the centre was given to the pretor. Hasdrubal, laying aside the design of fortifying a camp, when he saw the necessity of fighting, placed his elephants in front, before the battalions, and, beside them, on the left wing, he opposed the Gauls to Claudius; not that he had much confidence in them, but thinking that they were much dreaded by the enemy. The right wing, which was to oppose Livius, he took to himself, together with the Spaniards; on whom, as being veteran troops, he placed his principal reliance. The Ligurians were posted in the centre, behind the elephants; but the line was too long in proportion to its depth. A rising ground in their front protected the Gauls; and while that part of the line which was composed of the Spaniards engaged the left wing of the Romans, their right wing stretching out beyond the extent of the fight, stood idle; for the eminence between them and the enemy prevented their making an attack either on their front or flank. Between Livius and Hasdrubal a furious conflict began, and dreadful slaughter was made on both sides; for here were both the generals; here the greater part of the Roman infantry and cavalry; here the Spaniards, veteran troops; and acquainted with the Roman manner of fighting; and the Ligurians, a race of hardy warriors. To the same part the elephants were driven, which, at the first onset, disordered the van, and made even the battalions give ground; but afterward, the contest growing hotter, and the shouts louder, they soon became disobedient to the directions of their riders, rambling up and down

between the two lines, without distinguishing their own party, and ranging to and fro, not unlike ships without rudders. Claudius in vain attempted to advance up the hill, often calling out thus to his men:—"To what purpose then have we, with so much speed, marched over such a length of way?" However, seeing it impracticable to reach the enemy's line in that quarter, he drew away some cohorts from his right wing, where the troops would not be able to act, and led them round behind the line. Then, to the surprise not only of the enemy but of his friends also, he made a brisk attack on their right flank; and so quick were his motions, that almost at the same instant when his men appeared on the flank they likewise attacked the rear. Thus the Spaniards and Ligurians were cut to pieces on all sides, in front, and flank, and rear; and the havoc in a short time reached the Gauls. These made very little opposition; for great numbers of them were absent from their posts, having slipped away in the night, and lain down in the fields; while those who were present, being exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, and being naturally ill qualified to endure toil, had scarcely strength remaining sufficient to support their armour. By this time it was midday; and while they were panting with heat and thirst, they were slain or taken at the will of the Romans.

49. Of the elephants more were killed by their guides than by the enemy. These carried a knife, like that used by shoemakers, with a mallet; and when the animals began to grow furious, and to rush on their own party, the manager of each, fixing this instrument between its ears, on the joint which connects the head with the neck, drove it in with the strongest blow that he could give. This had been found the speediest method of killing animals of that great size, when they had become so unruly as to leave no hope of managing them; and it had been first brought into practice by Hasdrubal, whose conduct in the command of an army, as on many other occasions, so particularly in this battle, merited very high encomiums. By his exhortations, and by taking an equal share in the dangers, he supported the spirits of his men; and at one time by entreaties, at another by reproofs, he reanimated the wearied, when, from the length and labour of the action, they were disposed to lay down their arms. He called back the flying, and restored the battle in many places where it had been given up. At last, when Fortune evidently declared for the Romans, unwilling to survive so great an army, which had followed his standard on the credit of his reputation, he set spurs to his horse, and plunged himself into the midst of a Roman cohort; where, as became the son of Hamilcar, and the

brother of Hannibal, he fell fighting. In no one action, during that war, were so great numbers of the enemy slain; so much so, indeed, that the damage retorted on him was deemed equivalent to that sustained at Cannæ. Fifty-six thousand of them were killed, and five thousand four hundred taken. The other booty was great of every kind, as well as of gold and silver. Besides which, there were recovered above four thousand Roman citizens, prisoners, which was some consolation for the soldiers lost in the battle; for the victory was far from a bloodless one, nearly eight thousand of the Romans and allies being killed. And so far were even the victors satiated with blood and slaughter, that next day, when the consul Livius was told that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been present in the battle, or had made their escape from the general carnage, were marching off in a body, without any certain leader, without standards, without order or subordination, and that they might all be cut off, if one squadron of horse were sent against them, he answered, "Let some be left alive, to carry home accounts of the enemy's losses, and of our valour."

50. On the night which followed the battle Nero set out on his return; and by marches even speedier than he had made on coming, on the sixth day after reached his former post opposite the enemy. The crowds of people attending him were less than before, because no messenger had preceded him; but these exhibited such demonstrations of joy, as to seem transported almost beyond their reason. It is impossible to express or describe the emotions that agitated the minds of all persons at Rome, either while waiting in doubtful expectation of the event, or when they received the news of the victory. The senators never quitted the senate-house, nor the magistrates, nor the people, the forum, from the rising to the setting sun, during the whole of Claudius's march; so eager were they to greet him. The matrons, incapable themselves of contributing aid, had recourse to prayers and supplications; and going about from one temple to another, wearied the gods with their entreaties and their vows. While the public were in this painful suspense, first an unauthenticated rumour spread that two Narnian horsemen had come from the field of battle to the camp which stood on the frontiers of Umbria, with intelligence that the enemy were utterly defeated. For some time, this news, though listened to, was but little credited, as being too great, and too joyful, for the people's minds to admit, or readily believe; and even the quickness of the conveyance was urged as an objection to the truth of it; as the account said that the battle was fought only two days

before. Soon after this a letter was brought from the camp by Lucius Manlius Acidinus, confirming the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter being carried through the forum to the pretor's tribunal, brought out the senate from their house; and the people thronged together with such impatience and tumult to the door, that the messenger could not approach, but was dragged amid a multitude of questions, and all demanding, with much vociferation, that the letter should be read from the rostrum even before it was submitted to the senate. At length they were reduced to order by the magistrates, and obliged to make room, that the joyful tidings might be regularly imparted to the public, who were unable to govern their transports. The despatch was accordingly read, first in the senate, then in the assembly of the people; some embracing the joyful news as certain, while others refused to credit any thing until they should hear it from the deputies, or the letters of the consuls.

51. After some time an account was brought that deputies were really coming, and not far off. On this, people of all ages ran out eagerly to meet them, each coveting to receive, from his own eyes and ears, convincing proofs of the reality of such a happy event. One continued train reached all the way to the Mulvian bridge: the deputies were, Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus, and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. Surrounded by a vast multitude of every sort, they went on to the forum, while some inquired of them, others of their attendants, concerning what had been done; and as soon as any one heard that the enemy's general and army had been cut off, that the Roman legions were safe, and the consuls unhurt, he immediately communicated his own joy to others. When the deputies had, with much difficulty, reached the senate-house, and the crowd was, with much greater difficulty, obliged to retire, that they might not mix with the senators, the letters were read in the senate; and then the deputies were brought out into the general assembly. Lucius Veturius, after reading the despatches, gave, in his own words, a fuller detail of all that had passed; which was heard with the greatest delight, and was at last followed by a universal shout from the whole assembly, who were unable to restrain the effusions of their joy. They then separated; some hastening to the temples of the gods to return thanks, some to their own houses, to impart the happy news to their wives and children. The senate, in consideration of the consuls, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, having cut off the general and the legions of the enemy, decreed a supplication for three days; which supplication the pretor, Caius Hostilius, proclaimed in the assembly, and it was performed with great devotion by all,

both men and women. During the whole three days, all the temples were equally filled with crowds, whose numbers never diminished; whilst the matrons, dressed in the most splendid manner, and accompanied by their children, being now delivered from every apprehension, just as if the war were at an end, offered thanksgivings to the immortal gods. This victory produced also a powerful effect on the internal business of the state; insomuch, that people immediately took courage to hold commerce with each other as in time of peace, buying, selling, lending, and paying money due. The consul Claudius, on returning to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had carefully brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy; and the African prisoners, chained as they were, to be exposed to their view. Two of these he also unbound and sent to Hannibal, with orders to inform him of what had happened. We are told that Hannibal, deeply struck by a disaster so fatal to his country, and his house, said that he felt now the fortune of Carthage. He then decamped, and retired thence, designing to draw together into Bruttium, the remotest corner of Italy, all those confederates whom, while scattered at wide distances, he could not protect; and he removed from their own habitations, and carried away into Bruttium, all the Metapontines, and such of the Lucanians as acknowledged his authority.

BOOK XXVIII.

CHAP. 1. At the time when, in consequence of Hasdrubal's removing his forces, Spain seemed to be relieved of so much of the burden of the war as had been thrown on Italy, hostilities suddenly revived there with the same violence as before. The possessions of the Romans and Carthaginians in Spain, at that time, were thus situated: Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, had withdrawn quite to the ocean and Gades; the coast of our sea, and almost all that part of Spain which lies to the eastward, was under the power of Scipio, and the dominion of the Romans. Hanno, the new general, who had come over from Africa with a new army, in the room of Hasdrubal Barcas, and joined Mago, a number of men in Celtiberia, having quickly armed a great contingent from both seas, to oppose him, sent Marcus Silanus with only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse.

Silanus proceeded with all possible expedition ; and though his march was impeded by the ruggedness of the roads, and by defiles surrounded with thick woods, which are met with in most parts of Spain, yet, taking for guides some of the natives, who had deserted from Celtiberia, he came up with the Carthaginians before any messenger, or even any report of his approach, had reached them. From deserters he also received information, when he was about ten miles distant from the enemy, that they had two camps, one on each side of the road in which he was marching ; that the Celtiberians, who were newly raised forces, amounting to more than nine thousand men, formed the camp on the left, the Carthaginians that on the right ; that the latter was strong, and secured by outposts, watches, and every regular military guard : the other disorderly, and negligently guarded, being composed of barbarians, who were but lately enlisted, and were under the less apprehension because they were in their own country. Silanus, resolving to charge this division first, ordered the troops to direct their course a great way to the left, so as not to come within view of the posts of the Carthaginians ; and having despatched scouts before him, he advanced in a brisk march to attack the enemy.

2. He had arrived within about three miles, and not one of the enemy had yet descried him ; craggy rocks, interspersed with thick bushes, covered the hills. Here, in a valley so deep as to be out of the way of observation, he ordered his men to halt, and take refreshment : the scouts in the mean time arrived, confirming the intelligence given by the deserters. On this the Romans, collecting the baggage into the centre, armed themselves, and moved forward in regular order. At the distance of a mile they were perceived by the enemy, among whom their appearance immediately created much hurry and confusion. On the first shout, Mago rode up in full speed from his camp. Now there were in the Celtiberian army, four thousand targeteers, and two hundred horsemen : this regular legion (and it was almost the whole of their strength) he placed in the first line ; the rest, who were lightly armed, he posted in reserve. While he was leading them out of the camp in this order, and when they had scarcely got clear of the rampart, the Romans discharged their javelins at them ; these the Spaniards stooped to avoid, and then the enemy rose to discharge their own ; which, when the Romans, in close array, had received on their conjoined shields, in their accustomed manner, they immediately closed foot to foot, and had recourse to their swords to determine the contest. But the unevenness of the ground, at the same time that it rendered their agility useless to the Celtiberians, who practise a desultory method of fighting,

was no disadvantage to the Romans, accustomed to a steady fight, except that the narrow passes, and the bushes interspersed, disordered their ranks, and obliged them to engage one against one, or two against two, as if they had been matched for the combat. The same circumstance which prevented the enemy from flying, delivered them up, as if in fetters, to slaughter. The targeteers of the Celtiberians being thus almost entirely cut off, the light troops and the Carthaginians, who had come from the other camp to support them, were quickly routed and put to the sword. About two thousand foot and all the cavalry fled with Mago at the very onset. Hanno, the other general, and those who came up last after the battle was decided, were taken alive. Almost the whole of the cavalry, and what veteran infantry they had, following Mago in his flight, came on the tenth day to Hasdrubal in the province of Gades: the Celtiberian soldiers, being newly levied, dispersed into the neighbouring woods, and thence escaped to their respective homes. By this seasonable victory was suppressed a war, which was not of so much importance on account of its present magnitude, as of its being a foundation from which one much more considerable might have arisen, had the enemy been allowed, after having roused the Celtiberians to arms, to persuade the other states to join in the same cause. Scipio, therefore, having bestowed liberal commendations on Silanus, and seeing reason to hope that he might be able to finish the dispute at once by exerting himself with proper activity, advanced into Farther Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian (who happened at that time to have his army in Bætica, for the purpose of securing the fidelity of his allies in that country) decamping hastily, led it away, in a manner much more resembling a flight than a march, quite to the ocean and Gades. He was fearful, however, that as long as he kept his forces together, he should be considered as the primary object of the enemy's operations. Before he passed over the strait to Gades, he therefore dispersed them into the different cities; in the view, likewise, that they might provide for their own safety by help of walls, and for that of the towns by their arms.

3. When Scipio found that the enemy's troops were thus widely scattered, and that the carrying about his own to each of the several cities would be a very tedious if not difficult work, he marched back his army. Unwilling, however, to leave the possession of all that country to the Carthaginians, he sent his brother, Lucius Scipio, with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to lay siege to the most considerable city in those parts, called by the barbarians Orinx, situate on the borders of the Milesians, a Spanish nation so called—a desirable spot, the adjacent parts afford-

ing mines of silver, and the soil being fruitful. This place served Hasdrubal as a fortress, whence he used to make incursions on the states around. Scipio encamped near to it. Before raising his works of circumvallation, however, he sent some persons to the gates to try the disposition of the inhabitants in a conference, and to recommend to them rather to make trial of the friendship than the power of the Romans. As their answers showed no inclination to peace, he surrounded the city with a trench and a double rampart; breaking his army into three parts, in order that one division might always carry on the attack while the other two rested. When the first of these began the assault, the contest was furious and desperate: it was with the greatest difficulty that they could approach, or bring up the ladders to the walls, on account of the showers of weapons which fell on them; and even of those who had raised them, some were tumbled down with forks made for the purpose, others found themselves in danger of being caught by iron grapples, and of being dragged up on the wall. When Scipio saw that his men were too few to make an impression, and that the enemy, from the advantage of their works, had even the better of the dispute, he called off the first division, and attacked with the two others at once. This struck such terror into the besieged, already fatigued, that not only the townsmen quickly forsook the walls, but the Carthaginian garrison, fearing that the town had been betrayed, likewise left their posts and collected themselves into a body. The inhabitants, on this, were seized with apprehensions lest the enemy, if they broke into the town, should put to the sword every one they met without distinction, whether Carthaginian or Spaniard. They instantly, therefore, threw open one of the gates, and rushed out of the town in crowds, holding their shields before them, lest any weapon should be cast at them, and stretching out their right hands expanded, to show that they had thrown away their swords. Whether this latter circumstance was unobserved on account of the distance, or whether some stratagem was suspected, is uncertain; but the deserters were attacked as enemies, and put to death. Through this gate the troops marched into the city in hostile array. The other gates were broken open with axes and sledges, and as soon as the horsemen entered, they galloped forward to secure the forum, for such were the orders; the veterans also were joined to the horse to support them. The legionary soldiers spread themselves all over the city, but neither slew nor plundered any, except those who stood on their defence. All the Carthaginians were put into confinement, with above three hundred of the inhabitants who had shut the gates; the rest had the town delivered up to them,

and their effects restored. There fell in the assault, of the enemy, about two thousand; of the Romans not more than ninety.

4. As the capture of this city afforded matter of much exultation to those engaged in it, so it rendered their approach to the camp a magnificent spectacle to the general and the rest of the army, on account of the immense crowd of prisoners which they drove before them. Scipio having declared his approbation of his brother's conduct, and in the highest strains extolled his taking of Orinx as equal to his own taking of Carthage, led back his forces into Hither Spain. The approach of winter put it out of his power either to make an attempt on Gades, or to pursue the army of Hasdrubal, now dispersed in all parts of the province. Dismissing therefore the legions to their winter-quarters, and sending his brother Lucius Scipio with Hanno, the enemy's general, and other prisoners of distinction, to Rome, he himself retired to Tarraco. During the same year the Roman fleet, under Marcus Valerius Lævinus, proconsul, sailing over from Sicily to Africa, made extensive devastations in the territories of Utica and Carthage, carrying off plunder from the remotest bounds of the Carthaginian territory, even from under the very walls of Utica. On their return to Sicily they were met by a Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy ships of war; seventeen of these they took, and sunk four; the rest were beaten and dispersed. The Romans, victorious by land and sea, returned to Lilybæum, with immense booty of every kind. The sea being thus cleared of the enemy, abundance of provision was brought to Rome.

5. In the beginning of the summer during which these transactions passed, Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, and King Attalus, after having wintered at Ægina as mentioned above, united their fleets, consisting of twenty-three Roman five-banked galleys, and thirty-five belonging to the king, and sailed from thence to Lemnos. Philip also, that he might be prepared for every sort of exertion, whether he should have occasion to oppose the enemy on land or sea, came down to the coast of Demetrias, and appointed a day for his army to assemble at Larissa. On the news of the king's arrival, embassies from his allies came to Demetrias from all sides; for the Ætolians, elated both by their alliance with the Romans, and by the approach of Attalus, were ravaging the neighbouring states. Not only the Acarnanians, Boeotians, and Eubœans, were under violent apprehensions, but the Achæans also were kept in terror, as well by the hostilities of the Ætolians as by Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, who had pitched his camp at a small distance from the borders of the Argives. All these, representing the dangers

both on land and sea with which their several possessions were threatened, implored the king's assistance. Philip even from his own kingdom, received accounts that affairs there were not in a state of tranquillity; that both Scerdilædus and Pleuratus were in motion; and that some of the Thracians, particularly the Mædians, would certainly make incursions into the adjoining provinces of Macedonia, if the king should be employed in a distant war. The Bœotians, indeed, and the people of the inland parts of Greece, informed him that, in order to prevent them from passing to the assistance of the allied states, the straits of Thermopylæ, where the road is confined, and contracted to a very narrow breadth, had been shut up by the Ætolians with a ditch and a rampart. Such a number of disturbances on all sides were sufficient to rouse even an indolent leader: he dismissed the ambassadors with promises of assisting them all, as time and circumstances would permit. He sent to Peparethus a garrison for the city; a business which required the utmost despatch, accounts having been received from thence that Attalus had sailed over from Lemnos, and was ravaging all the country round. He despatched Polyphantas, with a small number of forces, to Bœotia; and likewise Menippus, one of the officers of his guards, with one thousand targeteers, (the target is not unlike the common buckler,) to Chalcis. Agrianum was reinforced with five hundred men, that all parts of the island might be secured. He himself went to Scotussa, ordering the Macedonian troops to be brought over thither from Larissa. He was there informed that the Ætolians had been summoned to an assembly at Heraclea, and that King Attalus was to come to consult with them on the conduct of the war. Resolving to disturb this meeting by his sudden approach, he led his army by forced marches to Heraclea, and arrived there just after the assembly had been dismissed. However, he destroyed the crops, which were almost ripe, particularly round the Ænian bay. He then led back his forces to Scotussa, and leaving there the body of his army, retired with the royal guards to Demetrius. That he might be in readiness to meet every effort of the enemy, he sent people from hence to Phœcis, and Eubœa, and Peparethus, to choose out elevated situations, where fires being lighted, might be seen from afar. He fixed a beacon on Tisæum, a mountain whose summit is of an immense height, that, by means of lights on these eminences, whenever the enemy made any attempt, he might, though distant, receive instant intelligence of it. The Roman general and King Attalus passed over from Peparethus to Nicœa, and from thence sailed to the city of Orcus, which is

the first city of Eubœa on the left, on the way from the bay of Demetrias to Chalcis and the Euripus.

6. It was concerted between Attalus and Sulpicius that the Romans should assault the town on the side next the sea, and at the same time make an attack on the king's forces on the land side. Four days after the arrival of the fleet the operations began. The intermediate time had been spent in private conferences with Plator, who had been appointed by Philip to the command of the place. There are two citadels, one hanging over the coast, the other in the middle of the town, and from this there is a subterraneous passage to the ocean, the entrance of which, next to the sea, is covered with a strong fortification, a tower five stories in height. Here the contest first commenced, and that with the utmost violence, the tower being well stored with all kinds of weapons; these, with engines and machines for the assault, having been landed from the ships. While the attention and eyes of all were drawn to that side, Plator opening one of the gates, received the Romans into the citadel next the sea, of which they became masters in a moment. The inhabitants, driven thence, fled to the other citadel in the middle of the city; but troops had been posted there to keep the gates shut against them; so that, being thus excluded and surrounded, they were all either slain or taken prisoners. In the mean time, the Macedonian garrison making no resistance, stood in a compact body under the walls. These men Plator (having obtained leave from Sulpicius) embarked in some ships, and landed them at Demetrias in Phthiotis; he himself withdrew to Attalus. Sulpicius, elated by his success at Oreum, so easily obtained, proceeded with his victorious fleet to Chalcis, where the issue by no means answered his expectations. The sea, from being pretty wide at each side, is here contracted into a strait so very narrow, that at the first view the whole appears like two harbours facing the two entrances of the Euripus. A more dangerous station for a fleet can hardly be found; for besides that the winds rush down suddenly, and with great fury, from the high mountains on each side, the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day at stated hours, as report says; but the current, changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain; so that, night or day, ships can never lie quiet. But, besides the perilous situation in which his fleet lay, he found that the town was firm and impregnable; surrounded on one side by the sea, extremely well fortified by land on the other; secured by a strong garrison, and, above all, by the fidelity of the commanders and principal inhabitants; which char-

acter those at Oreum had not supported with honour or steadiness. The Roman, in a business rashly undertaken, acted so far prudently, that, when he had seen all the difficulties attending it, not to waste time, he quickly desisted from the attempt, removing with his fleet from thence to Gyms in Locris, the landing-place for the city of Opus, which lies at the distance of a mile from the sea.

7. Philip had received notice from Oreum by the signal fires; but through the treachery of Plator, it was too late when they were raised on the beacons, and as he was not a match for the enemy at sea, it was difficult for him to approach the island; he hesitated, therefore, and took no part in that business. To the relief of Chalcis he flew with alacrity, as soon as he perceived the signal: for though Chalcis stands on the same island, yet the strait which separates it from the continent is so narrow, that there is a communication between them by a bridge, and the approach to it is easier by land than by water. Philip, therefore, having gone from Demetrias to Scotussa, and setting out thence at the third watch, dislodged the guard, routed the *Ætoliæns* who kept possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, and drove the dismayed enemy to Heraclea, accomplishing in one day a march of above sixty miles to Elatia in Phocis. About the same time the city of Opus was taken and plundered by Atalus. Sulpicius had given it up to the king, because Oreum had been sacked a few days before by the Roman soldiers, and his men had received no share. After the Roman fleet had retired to Oreum, Atalus, not apprized of Philip's approach, wasted time in levying contributions from the principal inhabitants; and so unexpected was his coming, that, had not some *Cretans*, who happened to go in quest of forage farther from the town than usual, espied the enemy, he might have been surprised. Without arms, and in the utmost confusion, he fled precipitately to his ships. Just as they were putting off from the land, Philip came up, and though he did not advance from the shore, yet his arrival caused a good deal of confusion among the mariners. From thence he returned to Opus, inveighing against gods and men for his disappointment in having the opportunity of striking so important a blow thus snatched from him, and when almost within reach of his arm. The *Opuntians*, also, he rebuked in angry terms, because, although they might have prolonged the siege until he arrived, yet they had immediately, on sight of the enemy, made almost a voluntary surrender. Having put affairs at Opus in order, he proceeded thence to Thronium. On the other side, Atalus at first retired to Oreum, but having heard there that Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his king-

dom, he laid aside all attention to the affairs of the Romans and the Ætolian war, and passed over into Asia. Sulpicius, too, withdrew his fleet to Ægina, from whence he had set out in the beginning of spring. Philip found as little difficulty in possessing himself of Thronium, as Attalus had met at Opus. This city was inhabited by foreigners, natives of Thebes in Phthiotis, who, when their own was taken by the Macedonian, had fled for protection to the Ætolians, and had obtained from them a settlement in this place, which had been laid waste and deserted in the former war with the same Philip. After recovering Thronium in the manner related, he continued his route; and, having taken Tritonos and Drymæ, inconsiderable towns of Doris, he came thence to Elatia, where he had ordered the ambassadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians to wait for him. While they were deliberating there on the method of putting an end to the Ætolian war, (for the ambassadors had been present at the late assembly of the Romans and Ætolians at Heraclea,) news was brought that Machanidas intended to attack the people of Elis while they were busied in preparations for solemnizing the Olympic games. Judging it incumbent on him to prevent such an attempt, he dismissed the ambassadors with a favourable answer, that "he had neither given cause for the war, nor would give any obstruction to a peace, provided it could be procured on just and honourable terms:" then, proceeding through Bœotia by quick marches, he came down to Megara, and from thence to Corinth; and, receiving there supplies of provision, repaired to Phlius and Pheneus. When he had advanced as far as Heræa, intelligence was brought him that Machanidas, terrified at the account of his approach, had retreated to Lacedæmon; on which he withdrew to Ægium, where the Achæans were assembled in council, expecting at the same time to meet there a Carthaginian fleet which he had sent for, in order that he might be able to undertake some enterprise by sea. But the Carthaginians had left that place a few days before, and were gone to the Oæan islands, and from thence, (on hearing that the Romans and Attalus had left Oreum,) to the harbours of the Acarnanians; for they apprehended that an attack was intended against themselves, and that they might be overpowered while within the straits of Rhios (so the entrance of the Corinthian bay is called.)

8. Philip was filled with grief and vexation when he found that, although he had, on all occasions, made the most spirited and speedy exertions, yet Fortune had baffled his activity, by snatching away every advantage when he had it within his view. In the assembly, however, concealing his chagrin, he spoke with great confidence, appealing to gods and men,

that "at no time or place had he ever been remiss; that wherever the sound of the enemies arms was heard, thither he had instantly repaired; but that it could hardly be determined whether, in the management of the war, his forwardness or the enemy's cowardice was more conspicuous; in such a dastardly manner had Attalus slipped out of his hands from Opus; Sulpicius from Chalcis; and in the same way within these few days, Machanidas. That flight however did not always succeed; and that a war should not be accounted difficult, in which victory would be certain if the foe could be brought to a regular engagement. One advantage, however, and that of the first magnitude, he had already acquired—the confession of the enemy themselves that they were not a match for him; and in a short time," he said, "he should have to boast of undoubted conquest; for whenever the enemy would meet him in the field, they should find the issue no better than they seemed to expect." This discourse of the king was received by the allies with great pleasure. He then gave up to the Achæans Heræa and Triphylia. Aliphera he restored to the Megalopolitans, they having produced sufficient evidence that it belonged to their territories. Having received some vessels from the Achæans, three galleys of four, and three of two banks of oars, he sailed to Anticyra; from thence, with seven ships of five banks, and above twenty barks, which he had sent to the bay of Corinth to join the Carthaginian fleet, he proceeded to Erythræ, a town of the Ætolians near Eupalium, and there made a descent. He was not unobserved by the Ætolians; for all who were either in the fields, or in the neighbouring forts of Apollonia and Potidania, fled to the woods and mountains. The cattle, which they could not drive off in their hurry, were seized and put on board. With these and the other booty he sent Nicias, pretor to the Achæans, to Ægium; and going to Corinth, he ordered his army to march by land through Bœotia, while he himself, sailing from Cenchrea, along the coast of Attica, round the promontory of Sunium, reached Chalcis, after passing almost through the middle of the enemy's fleet. Having highly commended the fidelity and bravery of the inhabitants, in not suffering either fear or hope to influence their minds, and having exhorted them to persevere in maintaining the alliance with the same constancy, if they preferred their present situation to that of the inhabitants of Oreum and Opus, he sailed to Oreum; and having there conferred the direction of affairs, and the command of the city, on such of the chief inhabitants as had chosen to fly rather than surrender to the Romans, he sailed over from Eubœa to Demetrias, from whence he had at first set out to assist his allies. Soon after, he laid the keels of

one hundred ships of war at Cassandria, collecting a great number of ship carpenters to finish the work; and, as the seasonable assistance which he had afforded his allies in their distress, and the departure of Aulalus, had restored tranquillity in the affairs of Greece, he withdrew into his own kingdom with an intention of making war on the Dardanians.

9. Towards the end of the summer, during which these transactions passed in Greece, Quintus Fabius, son of Maximus, who served as lieutenant-general, brought a message from Marcus Livius, the consul, to the senate of Rome, in which he gave it as his opinion that Lucius Porcius with his legions was sufficient to secure the province of Gaul, and that he himself might depart thence, and the consular army be withdrawn. On which the senate ordered not only Marcus Livius, but his colleague also, Caius Claudius, to return to the city. In their decree they made only this difference—that Marcus Livius's army be withdrawn, but that Nero's legions remain in the province to oppose Hannibal. It had been concerted between the consuls, by letter, that as they had been of one mind in the management of affairs, so they should arrive together at one time in the city, though they were to come from different quarters; whichever came first to Præneste being directed to wait there for his colleague. It so happened that they both arrived at that town on the same day; and then, having sent forward a proclamation, requiring a full meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona on the third day after, they advanced towards the city, from whence the whole multitude poured out to meet them. The surrounding crowds were not satisfied with saluting them, though but at a little distance; each pressed eagerly forward to touch the victorious hands of the consuls; some congratulating, others giving them thanks for having by their valour procured safety to the state. In the senate, having given a recital of their exploits, according to the usual practice of commanders of armies, they demanded that, "on account of their bravery and success in the conduct of affairs, due honours might be paid to the immortal gods, and they themselves allowed to enter the city in triumph." To which the senate answered, that "they decreed with pleasure the matters contained in their demands, as a proper return, due, first to the gods, and, after the gods, to the consuls." A thanksgiving in the name of both, and a triumph to each, had been decreed: the consuls, however, wishing that, as their sentiments had been united during the course of the war, their triumphs should not be separated, came to this agreement between themselves, "inasmuch as the business had been accomplished within the province of Marcus Liv-

ius, and as, on the day whereon the battle was fought, it happened to be his turn to command, and as the army of Livius had been withdrawn and was now at Rome, while Nero's could not be withdrawn from the province; it should on all these accounts be ordered that Marcus Livius make his entry in a chariot, drawn by four horses, attended by the troops; Caius Claudius Nero, on horseback, without troops." As the uniting of their triumphs in this manner enhanced the glory of both the consuls, so it reflected peculiar honour on him who condescended to appear in the procession, as much inferior to his colleague in magnificence, as he was superior to him in merit. People said, that "the commander on horseback had, in the space of six days, traversed the extent of Italy, and had fought a pitched battle with Hasdrubal in Gaul, on the very day when Hannibal imagined he was lying in his camp opposite to him in Apulia; that thus this single consul (equal to the defence of both extremities of Italy against two armies and two generals) had opposed against one, his skill; against the other, his person. That the very name of Nero had been sufficient to confine Hannibal to his camp; and as to Hasdrubal, by what other means than by the arrival of Nero had he been overwhelmed and cut off? The other consul, therefore, might proceed in his stately chariot: he was drawn indeed by a number of horses, but the real triumph belonged to him who had only one; and that Nero, though he should go on foot, deserved to be forever celebrated, both for having acquired so much glory in the war, and shown so much indifference to the pompous display of it in the present procession." With such encomium did the spectators attend Nero through his whole progress to the capitol. The consuls carried to the treasury three hundred thousand sesterces* in money, and eighty thousand assest of brass; to the soldiers, Marcus Livius distributed fifty-six assest each. Caius Claudius promised the same sum to his absent troops, as soon as he should return to the army. It was remarked that the soldiers, on that day, directed more of their military songs and verses to Caius Claudius than to their own commander; that the horsemen distinguished Lucius Veturius and Quintus Cæcilius, lieutenants-general, by extraordinary praises, exhorting the commons to appoint them consuls for the next year; and that both Livius and Nero added their authority to this recommendation, representing next day in the assembly the bravery and fidelity which the said lieutenants-general had manifested in the service.

10. When the time of the elections arrived, as it had been

* 24 218l. 15s.

† 258l. 6s. 8d.

‡ 3s. 7 1-2d.

determined that they should be held by a dictator, the consul Caius Claudius nominated his colleague Marcus Livius to that office. Livius appointed Quintus Cæcilius master of the horse. By Marcus Livius were elected consuls, Lucius Veturius and Quintus Cæcilius, who was then master of the horse. The election of pretors was next held: there were appointed Caius Servilius, Marcus Cæcilius Metellus, Tiberius Claudius Asellus, and Quintus Mamilius Turinus, at that time plebeian edile. When the elections were finished, the dictator, having laid down his office, and dismissed his army, set out for his province of Etruria, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, in order to make inquiries what states of the Tuscans or Umbrians had, on the approach of Hasdrubal, formed schemes of revolting to him from the Romans; or who had afforded him men, provisions, or any kind of aid. Such were the transactions of that year at home and abroad. The Roman games were thrice repeated by the curule ediles, Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. The plebeian games also were once repeated entire by the plebeian ediles, Manius Pomponius Matho and Quintus Mamilius Thurinus. [A.U.C. 546. B.C. 206.] In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, when Lucius Veturius Philo and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus were consuls, they were both appointed to the province of Brutium, to conduct the war against Hannibal. The pretors then cast lots for their provinces: the business of the city fell to Marcus Cæcilius Metellus; the jurisdiction in relation to foreigners, to Quintus Mamilius; Sicily, to Caius Servilius; and Sardinia, to Tiberius Claudius. The armies were thus distributed: to one of the consuls, that which had been under Caius Claudius, the consul of the former year; to the other, that which had been under Quintus Claudius, propretor; they consisted each of two legions. It was decreed that Marcus Livius, proconsul, whose command had been prolonged for a year, should receive two legions of volunteer slaves from Caius Tarentinus, propretor in Etruria; and that Quintus Mamilius should transfer his judicial employment to his colleague, and take the command in Gaul with the army which had belonged to Lucius Porcius, propretor; orders at the same time being given him to lay waste the lands of the Gauls, who had revolted on the approach of Hasdrubal. The protection of Sicily was given in charge to Caius Servilius, with the two legions of Cannæ, as Caius Mamilius had held it. From Sardinia, the old army which had served under Aulus Hostilius, was brought home; and the consuls levied a new legion, which Tiberius Claudius was to carry with him. Quintus Claudius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus were continued in command for a year, that the former might hold Taren-

tum as his province, the latter Capua. Marcus Valerius, proconsul, who had been intrusted with the defence of the sea-coasts round Sicily, was ordered to deliver thirty ships to Caius Servilius, and to return home with all the rest of the fleet.

11. While the public was under much anxiety, on account of the great danger and importance of the war, and ever apt to refer to the gods the causes of all their successes and disappointments, accounts were propagated of a number of prodigies: that at Tarracina, the temple of Jupiter, at Satrium, that of Mother Matuta, had been struck by lightning; the people being also greatly terrified by two snakes creeping into the former unperceived through the very door. From Antium it was reported that ears of corn had appeared bloody to the reapers. At Cære a pig had been littered with two heads, and a lamb yeaned which was of both sexes. It was said also, that two suns had been seen at Alba, and that light had burst forth on a sudden during the night-time at Fregellæ. An ox, it was asserted, had spoken in the neighbourhood of Rome; and a profuse sweat had flowed from the altar of Neptune, in the Flaminian circus; and also, that the temples of Ceres, Safety, and Romulus, were struck by lightning. These prodigies the consuls were ordered to expiate with the greater victims, and to perform a solemn supplication to the gods during one day; all which was strictly observed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. But what struck more terror into men's minds than all these ominous and preternatural appearances, at home or abroad, was the extinction of the fire in the temple of Vesta, and for which the vestal who had the watch for that night was whipped to death by order of the pontiff Publius Licinius. Although this extinction was occasioned, not by the gods directing it as a portent, but by the negligence of a human being, yet it was thought proper that it should be expiated by the greater victims, and that a supplication should be solemnized at the temple of Vesta. Before the consuls set out to the campaign, they received directions from the senate to "take measures to make the common people return to their lands in the country, where they might now reside in safety, as, by the favour of the gods, the war had been removed to a distance from the city of Rome, and from Latium; for it was quite inconsistent to pay more attention to the cultivation of Sicily than to that of Italy." It was however no easy matter to obtain a compliance with this injunction: the labourers of free condition were most of them lost in the war, slaves were scarce, the cattle had been carried off in booty, and their dwellings thrown down and burnt. Nevertheless a great number, compelled by the authority of the consuls, returned

as directed. The mention of this affair had been occasioned by deputies from Placentia and Cremona, who complained that incursions were made on them by the neighbouring Gauls; that a great part of their settlers had dispersed; that their cities were thinly inhabited, and their territory waste and deserted. A charge was given to the pretor Mamilius to protect the colonies from the enemy. The consuls, in pursuance of the decree of the senate, issued an edict, that all the citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return before a certain day to those colonies; and then, in the beginning of the spring, they set out to carry on the war. Quintus Cæcilius, consul, received his army from Caius Nero; Lucius Veturius, his from Quintus Claudius, propretor, he filling it up with the new levies which himself had raised. They led their forces into the territory of Consentia. Here, having made great ravages, the troops, now loaded with spoil, were thrown into such confusion, in a narrow pass, by some Brutians and Numidian spearmen, that not only that spoil but themselves were in extreme danger. However, there was more tumult than fighting; the booty was sent forward, and the legions without loss made their way to places of safety. From thence they advanced against the Lucanians, which whole nation returned without a contest into subjection to the Roman people.

12. No action took place during that year between them and Hannibal; for the Carthaginian, after the deep wound so lately given both to his own private and to the public welfare, cautiously avoided throwing himself in their way; and the Romans did not choose to rouse him from his inactivity: such powers did they suppose that leader possessed of, in his single person, though all things round him were falling into ruin. In truth, I know not whether he was more deserving of admiration in adversity or in prosperity; considering that, though he carried on war for thirteen years, and that in an enemy's territory so far from home, with various success, with an army not composed of his own countrymen, but made up of the refuse of all nations, who had neither law, nor custom, nor language in common; who were of different stature, had different garbs, different arms, different rites, and almost different gods; yet he so bound them together by some common tie, that neither so bound them together by their commander did any sedition among themselves nor against a hostile country, he often wanted both money to pay them, and provisions also,—wants which, in the former Punic war, had occasioned many distresses, and the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, on whom he had reposed all his hopes of victory, and when he had given up the possession of all the rest of Ita-

ly, and withdrawn into a corner of Bruttium, must it not appear wonderful to all that no disturbance arose in his camp? for there was this afflicting circumstance in addition to all his other difficulties, that he had no hope of being able even to procure food for his soldiers, except from the lands of Bruttium; which, if they were entirely under tillage, were too small for the support of so large an army. Besides, the war had employed a great part of the young men, and carried them away from the cultivation of the grounds; a base practice likewise prevailing through the whole nation, of making plundering excursions on every side; nor were there any remittances made him from home, where the whole attention of the public was engaged in endeavouring to keep possession of Spain, as if affairs in Italy were all in a state of prosperity. In the former, the fortune of the parties was in one respect the same; in another, widely different: the same so far, that the Carthaginians, being defeated in battle, and having lost their general, had been driven to the remotest coast of the country, even to the ocean; but different in this, that Spain, in the nature both of the ground and of the inhabitants, affords greater conveniences for reviving a war, not only than Italy, but than any other part of the world: and that was the reason, that although this was the first of all the provinces on the continent in which the Romans got footing, yet it was the last subdued; and that not until the present age, under the conduct and auspices of Augustus Cæsar. In this country Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, a general of the greatest abilities and character next to the Barcine family, returning now from Gades, and being encouraged to a renewal of the war by Mago, the son of Hamilcar, armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, by levies made in the Farther Spain. In the number of his cavalry authors are pretty well agreed; of the infantry, according to some, there were seventy thousand led to the city of Silpia. There the two Carthaginian generals sat down in an extensive plain, determined not to avoid a battle.

13. When Scipio received the account of the army being assembled, he saw plainly that, with the Roman legions alone, he could not oppose so great a multitude; nor without using the auxiliary troops of the barbarians, at least for the purpose of making a show of strength; but that, at the same time, it was highly improper that they should compose such a proportion of his force as might enable them, by changing sides, to produce consequences of importance—an event which had caused the destruction of his father and uncle. Sending forward therefore Silanus to Colca, who was sovereign of twenty-eight towns, to receive from him the horse and foot which he had engaged to raise during the winter, he set out

himself from Tarraco, and, collecting small bodies of auxiliaries from the allies who lay near his road, proceeded to Castulo. Hither Silanus brought three thousand auxiliary foot and five hundred horse. From thence he advanced to the city of Bæcula, his army amounting, in the whole, of his countrymen and allies, horse and foot, to forty-five thousand. While they were forming their camp, Mago and Masinissa, with the whole of their cavalry, made an attack on them, and would have dispersed the workmen, had not some horsemen whom Scipio had concealed behind a hill, conveniently situated for the purpose, suddenly rushed out as they advanced to the charge. These, at the first onset, routed all who had pushed on foremost against the men employed in the fortification. The contest with the rest, who advanced on their march drawn up in regular order, was longer, and for some time doubtful. But the light cohorts from the outposts, the soldiers called off from the works, and afterward greater numbers, who were ordered to take arms, came up fresh, and engaged the wearied enemy. At the same time a large body rushed in arms from the camp to battle. The Carthaginians and Numidians then fairly turned their backs; and though at first they retreated in troops, and without breaking their ranks, yet when the Romans fell furiously on their rear they thought no more of order, but fled precipitately, and dispersed into such places as each found convenient. Although by this battle the spirits of the Romans were somewhat raised, and those of the enemy depressed, yet for several following days the horsemen and light troops were continually engaged in skirmishes.

14. After making trial of their strength in these slight engagements, Hasdrubal led out his forces to the field; then the Romans marched out. Both armies stood in order of battle under their respective ramparts, neither party choosing to begin the attack; when it was near sunset, the Carthaginians first, and then the Romans, marched back into camp. They acted in the same manner for several days, the Carthaginian always drawing out his troops first, and first giving the signal of retreat, when they were fatigued with standing. Neither side advanced in the least, nor was a weapon discharged, nor a word uttered. The centre divisions of their lines were composed, on one side, of Romans; on the other of Carthaginians and African auxiliaries: the wings were formed by the allies, who on both sides were Spaniards. In front of the Carthaginian line the elephants at a distance appeared like castles. It was now generally said in both camps that they were to engage in the same order in which they had stood before; and that their centres, consisting of Romans and Carthaginians, who were principals in the war, would

no doubt encounter each other with equal courage and strength of arms. When Scipio understood that this opinion was firmly entertained, he took care to alter the whole plan against the day on which he intended to fight. On the preceding evening, therefore, he gave out orders through the camp that the men and horses should be refreshed and accoutred before day; and that the horsemen, ready armed, should keep their horses bridled and saddled. Before it was clear day he despatched all the cavalry and light infantry, with orders to charge the Carthaginian outposts; and immediately advanced himself with the heavy body of the legions, having, contrary to the expectation both of his own men and the enemy, strengthened the wings with his Roman troops, and drawn the allies into the centre. Hasdrubal was alarmed by the shout of the cavalry, and, springing out from his tent, saw a bustle before the rampart, his men in hurry and confusion, the glittering standards of the legions at a distance, and the plain filled with troops. He immediately despatched all his cavalry against that of the enemy, marching himself from out of the camp with the body of infantry; but, in drawing up his line, he made no alteration in the original disposition. The contest between the horse had continued a long time doubtful, nor could they decide it by their own efforts, because, when either were repulsed, which happened to both in turn, they found a safe refuge among the infantry. But, when the armies had approached within five hundred paces of each other, Scipio, giving the signal for retreat, and opening his files, received all the cavalry and light troops through them; and, forming them in two divisions, placed them in reserve behind the wings. When he saw that it was time to begin the engagement, he ordered the Spaniards who composed the centre to advance with a slow pace, and sent directions from the right wing, where he commanded in person, to Silanus and Marcius, to extend their wing on the left, in the same manner as they should see him stretching on the right, and attack the enemy with the light-armed forces of horse and foot before the centre could close. The wings extending in this manner, three cohorts of foot, and three troops of horse from each, together with the light infantry, advanced briskly against the enemy, while the rest followed them in an oblique direction. There was a bending in the centre, because the battalions of Spaniards advanced slower than the wings, and the wings had already encountered, while the principal strength of the enemy's line, the Carthaginian veterans and Africans, were still at such a distance, that they could not throw their javelins with effect, nor did they dare to make detachments to the wings, to support those who were engaged, for fear of opening the

centre to the forces advancing against it. The Carthaginian wings were hard pressed, being attacked on all sides; for the horse and foot, together with the light infantry, wheeling round, fell in on their flanks, while the cohorts pressed on them in front, in order to separate the wings from the rest of the line.

15. The battle was now very unequal in all parts: not only because an irregular multitude of Balearians and undisciplined Spanish recruits were opposed to the Roman and Latine troops, but, as the day advanced, Hasdrubal's troops began to grow faint, having been surprised by the alarm in the morning, and obliged to hasten out to the field before they could take food to support their strength. With a view to this, Scipio had taken care to create delay, for it was not until the seventh hour that the battalions of foot fell on the wings, and the battle reached the centre somewhat later; so that, before the enemy began regularly to engage, they were enfeebled by the heat of the meridian sun, the labour of standing under arms, and by hunger and thirst, distressing them at once. They stood, therefore, leaning on their shields; for, in addition to their other misfortunes, the elephants, terrified at the desultory manner of fighting used by the horse and the light infantry, had thrown themselves from the wings on the centre. Harassed thus greatly, both in body and mind, they began to give way, but still preserved their ranks as if the whole army were retreating by order of the general. The victors perceiving the superiority which they had gained, redoubled the fury of their assault on all sides, so that the shock could hardly be sustained. Hasdrubal, however, endeavoured to stop his men, crying out that "the hills in the rear would afford a safe refuge, if they would but retreat without hurry;" yet fear overcame their shame, and although such as were nearest the enemy still continued to fight, they quickly turned their backs, and all betook themselves to a hasty flight. They halted however for a time at the foot of the hills, endeavouring to restore order, while the Romans hesitated to advance their line against the opposite steep. But, when they saw the battalions pressing forward briskly, they renewed their flight, and were driven in a panic within their works. The Romans were not far from the rampart; and continuing their efforts, had nearly surmounted it, when such a quantity of rain poured suddenly down, that it was with difficulty they regained their camp. The sun, too, had been excessively hot, as is usually the case when shining forth from among clouds surcharged with water; which added greatly to the fatigues of the day. Some were even seized with a religious scruple against attempting any thing farther at that time. Though both night

and the rain invited the Carthaginians to take the repose so necessary to them, yet fear and the impending danger would not admit of it; and as they had reason to expect an assault from the enemy at the first light, they raised the height of the rampart with stones collected from the adjacent valleys, endeavouring to secure themselves by fortifications, since they found no protection in their arms. But the desertion of their allies soon gave them reason to think that it was the safer way to fly. The beginning of this revolt arose from Attanes, prince of the Turdetans, who deserted with a great number of his countrymen; and afterward, two fortified towns, with their garrisons, were delivered to the Romans by their commanders. Hasdrubal, dreading, since a disposition to throw off the Carthaginian yoke had once seized their minds, that the evil might spread farther, decamped during the silence of the ensuing night.

16. At the first light, the outguards having brought intelligence of the enemy's departure, Scipio, sending forward the cavalry, gave orders to the army to march; and these were executed with such expedition that, had they directly pursued the track of the fugitives, they had certainly overtaken them; but they were persuaded by their guides that there was another and a shorter road to the river Bætis, and where, it was said, they might attack them in their passage. Hasdrubal finding the ford in possession of the enemy, changed his course, directing it towards the ocean; his army now retreating with precipitancy, so that the Roman legions were left at some distance behind. However, the horse and the light infantry harassed and delayed them, by attacking sometimes their rear, sometimes their flanks; and as they were obliged to halt frequently, on occasion of these interruptions, and to support the attacks, at one time of the horse, at another of the infantry and auxiliary foot, they were overtaken by the legions. The consequence was, not a fight, but a carnage as of cattle; until at length the general himself, setting the example of a flight, made his escape to the adjacent hills with about six thousand men half armed; the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an irregular camp on the highest part of the ground, and defended themselves there without difficulty, the enemy in vain attempting to climb so difficult an ascent. But a blockade, in a place naked and destitute, was hardly to be supported, even for a few days: desertions to the Roman, therefore, were frequent. Hasdrubal having at length procured some ships, and the sea being not far distant, left his army in the night, and fled to Gades. When Scipio was informed of the flight of the general, leaving ten thousand foot and one thousand horse with Silanus for the

blockade of the camp, he returned himself with the rest of the forces to Tarraco, where he arrived after a march of seventy days; during which he was employed in examining into the conduct of the petty princes and states, in order that their rewards might be proportioned according to a just estimate of their merits. After his departure, Masinissa having held a private conference with Silanus, passed over with a few of his countrymen into Africa, in order to bring his own nation to participate in the design which he had newly formed. The cause of his sudden change was not at that time well known; but the inviolable fidelity which he ever afterward preserved towards Rome, through the whole course of a very long life, is sufficient proof that he did not, even then, act without a reasonable motive. Mago went to Gades in the ships which had been sent back by Hasdrubal. Of the rest, thus abandoned by their generals, some deserted, others fled and dispersed through the neighbouring states: no detachment remaining, considerable either for number or strength. These were the principal events, in consequence of which, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, the Carthaginians were compelled to relinquish all footing in Spain, in the thirteenth year from the commencement of hostilities, the fifth from Scipio's having received the command of the province and of the army. Not long after, Silanus returned to Scipio at Tarraco, with information that the war was at an end.

17. Lucius Scipio was employed in conveying to Rome a great many prisoners of distinction, and in carrying the news of the reduction of Spain. While this was considered by all others as a most joyful and glorious event, he alone, by whose means it had been accomplished, insatiable in his pursuit of glory, considered it as a trifle in comparison with those designs which his aspiring mind and sanguine hopes prompted him to conceive. He now directed his views to Africa, regarding the subjugation of Carthage, in all her grandeur, as the consummation of his renown. Deeming it necessary, therefore, to conciliate the friendship of the several African kings and people, he resolved to make the first trial of Syphax, king of the Massesylians,—a nation bordering on Mauritania, and lying opposite to that part of Spain, particularly where New Carthage stands. There was an alliance at that time subsisting between this monarch and the Carthaginians. Supposing him, however, not more firmly attached than barbarians usually are, whose fidelity always depends on fortune, him as envoy, with proper gifts with these, and considering that the Romans were at that time everywhere successful, the Carthaginians un-

fortunate in Italy, and quite excluded from Spain, consented to embrace the friendship of the Romans, but refused to exchange the ratification of the treaty except with the Roman general in person. Lælius then returned to Scipio, having obtained from the king an engagement merely of safe conduct for him. To him, who aimed at conquests in Africa, the friendship of Syphax was, in every respect, of the utmost importance; he was the most powerful prince in that part of the world, had already opposed even the Carthaginians in war, while his dominions lay very conveniently with respect to Spain, from which they are separated by a narrow strait. Scipio thought the affair of such moment as to warrant the attempt, though attended with considerable danger, since otherwise it could not be accomplished. Leaving, therefore, for the security of Spain, Lucius Marcius at Tarraco, and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage, (to which place he himself had made a hasty journey by land,) and setting sail from Carthage with Caius Lælius in two galleys of five banks, he passed over to Africa, while the sea was so calm that they generally used their oars, though sometimes they were assisted by a gentle breeze. It happened that Hasdrubal, at the very same time, after having been driven out of Spain, had entered the harbour with seven galleys of three banks, and having cast anchor, was mooring his ships. On sight of these two five-banked ships, although no one doubted that they belonged to the Romans, and might be overpowered by superior numbers before they entered the harbour, yet nothing ensued except tumult and confusion among the soldiers and sailors, endeavouring to no purpose to get their arms and ships in readiness; for the quinqueremes, having their sails filled by a brisk gale from the sea, were carried into the harbour before the Carthaginians could weigh their anchors, and afterward they dared not to raise a disturbance in the king's port. Having landed, therefore, they proceeded, Hasdrubal first, then Scipio and Lælius, on their way to the king.

18. Syphax considered this as a very honourable circumstance, as it really was; that the generals of the two most powerful states of the age should come on the same day to solicit peace and friendship with him. He invited them both to his palace, and as chance had so ordered that they were under the same roof, and in the protection of the same household gods, he endeavoured to bring them to a conference, for the purpose of putting an end to the enmity subsisting between them. Scipio declared that in his private capacity he had not the least ill-will to the Carthaginian, which might require a conference to remove it; and with regard to public affairs, he could not enter into any negotia-

tion with an enemy without orders from the senate. However, the king showing an earnest desire that he should come to the same table, so that neither of his guests might seem to be excluded, he did not refuse; and they there supped together. Scipio and Hasdrubal, perceiving that it would be agreeable to their entertainer, even reclined on the same couch during the repast; and so pleasing were the manners of the former, such his pliability on every occasion, and such his engaging conversation, that he acquired the esteem not only of Syphax, a barbarian unacquainted with Roman habits, but even of his inveterate enemy, who declared publicly, that "he appeared, on acquaintance, more worthy of admiration for his powers in conversation, than for his exploits in war; that he made no doubt but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be under the direction of the Romans. Such address was that man possessed of, in acquiring an ascendancy over people's minds, that the Carthaginians were not more intent at present in inquiring how Spain had been lost, than how they were to retain possession of Africa. That it was not for the sake of travelling, or in the pursuit of pleasure, that so great a general, quitting a province but lately subdued, and leaving his armies, had passed over into Africa with only two ships, intrusting himself, in an enemy's country, to the power of the king, and to his fidelity, as yet untried. Scipio had formed the scheme of subduing their people, had long entertained this design, and had openly expressed his regret that he was not carrying on war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy." The league, however, being ratified with Syphax, Scipio set sail; and after being tossed a good deal during the voyage, by variable and generally boisterous winds, he made the harbour of New Carthage on the fourth day.

19. As Spain had now rest from the Carthaginian war, so it was manifest that some states remained quiet rather through fear, arising from the consciousness of misbehaviour, than through sincere attachment. The most remarkable of these, both in greatness and in guilt, were Illiturgi and Castulo. The inhabitants of Castulo, allies of the Romans while they were successful, had, on the destruction of the first Scipios and their armies, revolted to the Carthaginians. Those of Illiturgi, by betraying and killing such as had fled to them after that calamity, had added barbarity to revolt. To have executed severe vengeance on those states, at Scipio's first coming, when affairs in Spain were in a precarious state, would have been more suited to their demerits than agreeable to principles of sound policy; but now, when affairs were in a state of tranquillity, the proper time for inflicting punishment seemed to have arrived. He

therefore sent for Lucius Marcius from Tarraco, and despatching him with a third part of the forces to besiege Castulo, he went himself with the rest of the army against Illiturgi, where he arrived on the fifth day. The gates there had been already shut, and every precaution taken, and preparation made for repelling an attack; so far had their consciousness of what they merited served them instead of a declaration of war. Hence Scipio took occasion to represent, in an exhortation to his soldiers, "that the Spaniards themselves, by shutting their gates, had shown what, in justice, they had reason to apprehend; that they ought, therefore, to entertain a much greater animosity against them than against the Carthaginians; for, with the latter, the contest was for empire and glory, almost without resentment, but the former they were called on to punish both for perfidy and cruelty. That the time was now come when they were to take vengeance for the horrid murder of their fellow-soldiers, and for the treachery ready to be executed on themselves also, had they happened to fly to the same place; and, by a severe example, to establish it as a maxim to all future ages, that no Roman citizen or soldier, in any state of fortune, should be injured with impunity." Their rage being excited by this harangue, they distributed the scaling ladders to chosen men in each company; and the army being divided into two parts, one of which Lælius, lieutenant-general, was to command, they assaulted the city in two places at once, striking terror into the assailed by the twofold danger to which they were exposed. It was not one leader, or a number of chiefs, but their own violent apprehensions, in consequence of their guilt, that induced the inhabitants to make a vigorous defence; they were fully sensible, and they reminded each other, "that their punishment, not a victory, was the object aimed at; that the matter for present consideration was, where they should choose to meet death, whether in the field and in fight, where the chance of war, equal to both parties, often raises the vanquished, and pulls down the conqueror; or whether, after seeing their city burned and demolished, and after suffering every indignity and disgrace, they should expire among chains and stripes, in the presence of their captive wives and children." Therefore, not only those who were of an age to bear arms, or the men alone, but women and boys added exertions beyond the strength of their minds or bodies, supplying with weapons those who were engaged in the fight, and carrying stones to the walls for others who were strengthening the works: for besides that their liberty was at stake, and by which the brave are powerfully excited, the extreme severity of the punishment which they must all expect, with a

disgraceful death, were before their eyes. Farther, their courage was inflamed by mutual emulation in toil and danger, and even by the sight of each other. Thus animated, they opposed the enemy with such determined bravery, that the army which had subdued all Spain was often repulsed from the walls, and began, in a contest with the youth of a single town, not much to their honour, to abate of their ardour. Scipio perceiving this, and dreading lest by these unsuccessful attempts the courage of the enemy should be raised, and his own men dispirited; thought it necessary to exert himself in person, and take a share in the danger. Whereon, reprimanding the troops for their want of spirit, he ordered ladders to be brought to him, threatening to mount the wall himself, since the rest were backward; and, accordingly, he had already advanced near it, and not without danger, when a shout was raised on all sides by the soldiers, alarmed at the situation of the general, and the escalade was attempted at once. Lælius, too, pressed on at the other side. The inhabitants were then no longer able to make opposition, and those who defended the walls being beaten off, the Romans took possession of them.

20. The citadel, too, during the tumult, being attacked on that side where it was thought impregnable, was taken. While the inhabitants were engaged in defence of those places where the danger appeared, and the Romans, in making greater approaches where they found it practicable, some African deserters, who were then among the Roman auxiliaries, observed that the most elevated part of the town, though protected by a very high rock, was neither secured by any works, nor provided with men for its defence. As they were light of body, and very active from constant exercise, carrying iron spears along with them, they climbed up, by means of the irregular prominences of the rock; and when they met with a cliff too high and smooth, by driving in the spikes at moderate distances, they formed a kind of steps. In this manner, the foremost drawing up by the hand those who followed, and the hindmost lifting up those before them, they made their way to the summit; and from thence, with loud shouts, poured down into the city, which had been already taken by the Romans. Then it plainly appeared that resentment and hatred had been the motives of the assault: no one thought of taking prisoners, no one thought of booty, though the objects lay before their eyes. The armed and the unarmed were slain without distinction, women and men promiscuously; the cruel rage of the soldiers proceeded even to slaying of infants. They then set fire to the houses, and what could not be thus destroyed, they levelled to the ground; so earnest were they to erase every trace of the city,

and to abolish every mark of the enemy's residence. Scipio from thence led his army to Castulo, which was defended by a great concourse of Spaniards, and also by the remains of the Carthaginian army, collected from the places whither they had dispersed in their flight. But the news of the calamities of the Illiturgians had preceded the arrival of Scipio, and thrown the garrison into fright and despair: and as they were differently circumstanced, while each party wished to provide for their own safety, without regard to the rest, at first silent suspicion, afterward open discord, ensued, and caused a separation between the Carthaginians and Spaniards. Cerdubellus openly advised the latter to surrender. Himilco commanded the Carthaginian garrison auxiliaries, who, together with the city, were delivered up to the Romans by Cerdubellus, after he had privately made terms for himself. This victory was not followed with so much severity; the guilt of this people not having been so great as that of the former, and their voluntary surrender mitigating, in some degree, the resentment against them.

21. Marcius proceeded from thence, in order to reduce to obedience such of the barbarians as had not been completely subdued. Scipio returned to New Carthage, in order to pay his vows to the gods, and to exhibit a show of gladiators, which he had prepared in commemoration of the death of his father and uncle. The combatants exhibited on this occasion were not of that sort which the lanists are wont to procure, a collection of slaves, or such free men as are base enough to set their blood to sale. Every champion here gave his service voluntarily, and without reward; for some were sent by the princes of the country to show a specimen of the bravery natural to their nation; some declared that they would fight to oblige the general; some were led by emulation and a desire of superiority to send challenges; and those who were challenged, from the same motive, did not decline them; some decided by the sword controversies which they could not, or would not, determine by arbitration, having agreed between themselves that the matter in dispute should be the property of the conqueror. Not only people of obscure condition, but men of character and distinction; Corbis and Orsua, for instance, cousins-german, having a dispute about the sovereignty of a city called Ibis, determined to decide it with the sword. Corbis had the advantage in regard to years. The father of Orsua, however, had been last on the throne, having succeeded to it on the death of his elder brother. Scipio endeavoured to accommodate the matter by calm discussion, and to assuage their resentment; but they both affirmed that they had refused to submit it to their common relations, and that they would have no other judge, nei-

ther god nor man, but Mars. They severally preferred death in fight to a submission to the other's authority, the elder confident in his strength, the younger in his activity; and so determined was their rage, that it was impossible to reconcile them. They afforded an extraordinary spectacle to the army, and a striking example of the evils occasioned by ambition. The elder, by experience in arms and superior skill, easily vanquished the ill-managed valour of the younger. To this exhibition of gladiators were added funeral games, conducted with as much magnificence as the province and the camp could supply.

22. While Scipio was thus employed, operations were carried on by his lieutenant Marcius, who, having passed the river Bætis, which the natives call Certis, got possession of two wealthy cities, by surrender without a contest. There was another called Astapa, which had always taken part with the Carthaginians; but that circumstance did not so much call for resentment, as from their having acted towards the Romans with an extraordinary degree of animosity, beyond what the exigences of the war could warrant. This was the more surprising, as they had no city so secured, either by situation or fortification, as that it might encourage such fierceness of temper; but the disposition of the inhabitants delighting in plunder, led them to make incursions into the neighbouring lands belonging to the allies of the Roman people, and even to seize on small parties of soldiers, together with the sutlers and traders. A large detachment also, which was attempting to pass through their territory, was surrounded by an ambuscade, and put to death in a place where they could not defend themselves. As soon as the army approached to besiege the city, the inhabitants, conscious of their crimes, saw no prospect of safety in surrendering to a people so highly provoked; and as their fortifications were in such a state that they could not greatly hope to defend themselves by arms, they contrived a plan of the most shocking and savage nature, which they agreed to execute on themselves and their families. They fixed on a part of the forum, into which they brought together all their most valuable effects, and having made their wives and children seat themselves on this heap, they piled up timber all round it, and threw on it abundance of fagots. They then gave a charge to fifty young men in arms, that "as long as the issue of the fight should be uncertain, they should carefully guard in that spot the fortunes of all, and the persons of those who were dearer to them than their fortunes. Should they perceive that their friends were worsted, and that the city was likely to be taken, that then they might be assured that every one whom they saw going out to battle would meet

death in the engagement. They then besought them, by the deities celestial and infernal, that mindful of their liberty which must terminate on that day either in an honourable death or disgraceful slavery, they would leave no object on which the enraged enemy could vent their fury. That they had fire and swords at their command; and that it were better that their friendly and faithful hands should consume those things which must necessarily perish, than that the foe should insult over them with haughty scorn." To these exhortations they added dreadful imprecations against any who should be diverted from their purpose, either by hope or tenderness; and then with rapid speed and violent impetuosity they rushed out through the open gates. There was none of the outposts strong enough to withstand them, because nothing could have been less apprehended than that they should dare to come out of the fortifications; a very few troops of horse, and the light infantry, despatched in haste from the camp, threw themselves in their way. The encounter was furious, owing more to their impetuosity and resolution than to any regular disposition. The horse, therefore, which had first engaged, being discomfited, communicated the terror to the light infantry; and the battle would have reached to the very rampart, had not the main body of the legions drawn out their line, though there was very little time allowed them for forming. Even among their battalions there was some confusion; while the Astapans, blinded with fury, rushed on against men and weapons with the most daring insensibility of danger. But in a short time the veteran soldiers, too steady to be disturbed by such rash attacks, by killing the foremost, stopped the advance of the next. Afterward, when they endeavoured to gain on them, finding that not a man gave way, but that they were obstinately determined to die, they extended their line, which their numbers enabled them to do with ease; they then surrounded the flanks of these desperates, who, forming into a circle, and continuing the fight, were slain to a man.

23. This severity, executed by an enraged enemy on those who opposed them in arms, especially as they were at the time engaged in hostilities with another people, was not inconsistent with the laws of war. But the more shocking havoc was in the city, where a weak unarmed crowd of women and children were assailed by their own countrymen, who tossed their almost lifeless bodies on the burning pile, while streams of blood kept down the rising flames, and who at last, wearied with the wretched slaughter of their friends, cast themselves with their arms into the midst of the fire. Just as the carnage was completed, the victorious Romans arrived. On the first sight of such a horrid transaction,

they were for a time struck motionless with astonishment; but afterward, on seeing the gold and silver glittering between the heaps of other matters, with the greediness natural to mankind, they wished to snatch them out of the burning heap. In attempting this, some were caught by the flames, others scorched by blasts of the heat, the foremost finding it impracticable to make a retreat against the press of so great a crowd. Thus was Astapa utterly destroyed by fire and sword, and without enriching the soldiers with booty. All the other inhabitants of that district, terrified at this event, made their submissions. Marcius led back his victorious army to join Scipio at Carthage. Just at the same time some deserters arrived from Gades, who promised to deliver up the city, the Carthaginian garrison, and the commander of the garrison, together with the fleet. Mago had halted there after his flight; and having collected a few ships from the ocean adjoining, and, with the assistance of Hanno his lieutenant, assembled others from the nearest parts of Spain, had brought some supplies from the coast of Africa. Terms being adjusted with the deserters, and ratified on both sides, Marcius was despatched thither with some cohorts equipped for expedition, and Lælius also, with seven three-banked and one five-banked galley, that they might act in concert both by land and sea in the execution of the business.

24. Scipio was seized with a severe fit of sickness; and the danger being magnified by report, (every one, through the natural propensity to exaggeration, adding something to what he had heard,) the whole province, more especially the distant parts of it, were thrown into disorder; which showed what important consequences must have attended the real loss of him, when the rumour of his illness alone could excite such storms. Neither the allies continued faithful, nor the army obedient to command. Mandonius and Indibilis, who had entertained confident expectations that, on the expulsion of the Carthaginians, the dominion of Spain would fall into their hands, being entirely disappointed in all their hopes, called together their countrymen of Laceta and Illiturgi; sent for the young men of Celtiberia to assist them, and carried hostilities and devastation into the territories of the Suessetanians and Sedetanians, allies of the Roman people. Another commotion arose in the camp at Sucro, where there were eight thousand Romans stationed to secure the obedience of the nations bordering on the Iberus. Their disposition to mutiny did not take its rise from the uncertain accounts of the general's life being in danger; it had sprung up some time before, from the licentiousness incident to a long state of inaction, and partly

from their circumstances being straitened during peace, having been accustomed during the war to live more plentifully on plunder. At first they only expressed their dissatisfaction in private discourses: "If there was a war in the province, what business had they there, among people who were at peace? If the war was already ended, why were they not carried back to Italy?" They also demanded their pay with a peremptoriness unbecoming the condition of soldiers, while those on guard used to throw out abuse on the tribunes as they went their nightly rounds. Favoured by the darkness, some had even gone out and plundered the peaceable country round; and at length they used to quit their standards without leave, openly, and in the daytime. In a word, every thing was directed by the licentious humour of the soldiery, nothing by the rules and discipline of war, or the commands of the officers. The form however of a Roman camp was preserved, merely on account of the hope which they entertained that the tribunes would be infected with their madness, and become sharers in their mutiny and revolt. They therefore permitted them to hold their courts at the tribunals; they applied to them for the watchword, and mounted guards and watches in their turn; and as they had taken away all the power of command, so, by submitting from choice to the usual duties, they kept up the appearance of obedience to orders. But when they found that the tribunes disapproved and blamed their proceedings, that they endeavoured to put a stop to them, and openly refused to assist in their designs, the mutiny then burst out; and having, by violence, driven the tribunes from their stands, and soon after from the camp, with the unanimous approbation of the whole body, they bestowed the supreme command on Caius Albius of Cales, and Caius Atrius of Umbria, common soldiers, who were the principal movers of the sedition. These men, not satisfied with the ornaments used by tribunes, had the assurance to lay hold of the badges of supreme command, the rods and axes; never considering that their own backs and necks were in danger from those very rods and axes which they carried before them to strike terror into others. Their groundless belief of Scipio's death blinded their understandings; and they entertained not a doubt that, on the news of that event, which would soon be generally known, the flames of war would break out in every part of Spain; that during this confusion money might be exacted from the allies, and the neighbouring cities plundered; and that the disturbances being general, and all men acting without restraint, their own behaviour would be the less liable to observation.

25. No accounts of the death of Scipio being received, the

rumour which had been inconsiderately propagated began to die away. They then began to inquire for the first authors of it; but every one threw it off from himself, that he might appear rather to have believed rashly than to have been the contriver of the fiction. The leaders, now forsaken, began to dread even their own badges of office, and considered with terror the real and just authority which was about to take place of the empty show of command which they possessed, and which would doubtless be exerted to their destruction. While the mutiny was at a stand through the amazement of the soldiers, on receiving undoubted intelligence, first, that Scipio was alive, and afterward, that he was in good health, seven military tribunes, despatched by himself, arrived in the camp. On their coming, the mutineers were at first exasperated, but they were soon softened by the mild and soothing language in which these addressed such of their acquaintances as they met: for, at first going round the tents, and then in the public tribunals, and in the pretorium, wherever they observed circles of soldiers engaged in conversation, they accosted them in such a manner as carried the appearance rather of an inquiry into the cause of their resentment and sudden disorder, than of throwing any blame on what had passed. The reasons generally alleged were, that "they had not received their pay regularly; although, at the time of the horrid transaction at Illiturgi, and after the utter destruction of the two generals and their two armies, it was by their bravery that the Roman name had been supported and the province secured; that the people of Illiturgi had indeed met with the punishment due to their guilt, but their meritorious conduct had remained unrewarded." The tribunes answered, that "in these remonstrances their requests were founded in justice, and should be laid before the general; that they were highly pleased to find that there was nothing in their case more grievous or incurable; and that, by the favour of the gods, they had both Publius Scipio and the state to reward their merit." Scipio, well practised in wars, but utterly unacquainted with the storms of intestine commotions, was filled with anxiety on the occasion, fearing lest the army should exceed all bounds in transgressing, or himself in punishing. For the present, he resolved to proceed as he had begun, by gentle measures; having therefore despatched collectors through the tributary states, he received reason to hope to be soon able to discharge the arrears. An order was then published, that the troops should come to Carthage to receive their pay, either in separate divisions or in one body, as they should choose. The mutiny, of itself abating in violence among the Romans, was reduced to a state of perfect tranquillity by the measures

which the rebellious Spaniards suddenly adopted. Mandonius and Indibilis, on receiving information that Scipio was alive, desisted from their undertaking, and returned into their own country, as there was now remaining neither countrymen nor foreigner to whom they could look up for a concurrence in their desperate scheme. The soldiers, after revolving every plan, were of opinion that they had nothing left, except (what is not always the safest retreat from bad counsels) the submitting themselves either to the just anger of the general, or to his clemency, of which it was thought they need not despair. "He had pardoned even enemies, with whom he had been engaged in battle; their mutiny had not been attended with any serious consequences; no lives had been lost, nor had any blood been shed; therefore, as it had not in itself been violent, it merited not a violent punishment." Men's minds are generally ingenious in palliating guilt in themselves. They only hesitated, then, whether they should go and demand their pay in single cohorts or in a body. The majority voted that, as the safer way, they should proceed in a body.

26. Whilst they were employed in these deliberations, a council was held at Carthage concerning them; the members of which were divided in opinion, whether the authors only of the mutiny, who were not more than thirty-five, should be punished; or whether it was not necessary that what ought to be called a revolt rather than a mutiny, and afforded such a dangerous example, should be expiated by the punishment of a greater number. The milder opinion prevailed, that the punishment should be confined to those who were the instigators to it, and that for the multitude a reprimand was sufficient. As soon as the council was dismissed, orders were issued to the army which was in Carthage to prepare for an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis, and to get ready provisions for several days, in order that people might think that this had been the business of the meeting. Then the seven tribunes, who had before gone to Sucro to quell the disturbance, were again sent out to gather farther information on the matter, when each of them made a return of five names of the leaders of it; with the intent that proper persons, appointed for the purpose, should invite these, with friendly countenance and discourse, to their lodgings, and that there, when stupefied with wine, they might be secured in chains. When they came near Carthage they heard, from some person on the road, that the whole army was to set out next day, with Marcus Silanus, against the Lacetanians, which not only freed the disaffected from the apprehensions which, though concealed, lay heavy on their minds, but occasioned great joy among them; as

they supposed that the general would be left alone, in their power, instead of their being in his. A little before sunset they entered the city, and saw the other army busy in preparations for a march: they were received with discourses framed for the purpose, that "their coming was highly agreeable and convenient to the general, as it had happened just before the departure of the other army;" after which they retired to refresh themselves. The authors of the mutiny, having been conducted to lodgings by the persons appointed, were, without any tumult, apprehended by the tribunes, and thrown into chains. At the fourth watch, the baggage of that army which, as pretended, was to march, began to set out. A little before day the troops moved also, but stopped in a body at the gate, whence guards were sent round to all the other avenues, to prevent any one going out of the city. Those who had arrived the day before were then summoned to an assembly, and they ran together into the forum to the general's tribunal in the most turbulent manner, intending to excite terror by their tumultuous shouts. Just as the general was taking his seat, the troops, who had been recalled from the gates, spread themselves round, under arms, behind the unarmed assembly. On this all the arrogance of the latter sunk at once; and, as they afterward confessed, nothing terrified them so much as the unexpected vigour and complexion of the general, whom they had expected to see in a sickly state—his countenance showing more sternness, they said, than they had ever remembered to have seen even in battle. He sat silent for a short time, until he was told that the authors of the mutiny were brought into the forum, and that all things were prepared.

27. Then, a herald having commanded silence, he began thus: "Never did I imagine that I should be in want of language to address my own army: not that I ever gave more attention to words than to business; for, having lived in camps almost from my childhood, I was ever well acquainted with the soldier's way of thinking. But, with what sentiments, or in what terms, I should speak to you, I am entirely at a loss. I know not even what appellation I ought to give you. Can I call you countrymen, who have revolted from your country; or soldiers, who have renounced obedience to command, and broke through the obligation of your oath; or enemies? I behold, indeed, the persons, faces, habit, mien of my fellow-citizens; but I perceive the actions, words, schemes, dispositions of foes: for what other object did your hopes and wishes aim at, than the same which was proposed by the Illergetians and Lacetans? They however chose for leaders in their mad enterprise Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal distinction: you conferred supreme

authority and command on the Umbrian Atrius, and the Calenian Albius. Soldiers, deny that it was the act of you all, or that you all approved of it; assert that it was the madness and folly of a few. I shall willingly give credit to your disavowal; for the crimes committed are of such a nature, that did the guilt of them extend to the whole army, it could not be expiated without very extraordinary atonements. I unwillingly touch those matters, as I should wounds; but unless such are touched and handled, they cannot be cured. After the Carthaginians were expelled from Spain, I really believed that there was not, in the whole province, any one place, or any description of men, to whom my life was not a matter of concern: such had been my conduct, not only towards the allies, but even towards the enemy. And yet even in my own camp, so much was I deceived in my opinion, the report of my death was not only readily believed, but longed for. Not that I wish this behaviour should be imputed to you all: I assure you, if I could believe that my whole army wished my death, I would here, this instant, die before your eyes; nor could life afford me any pleasure if it were displeasing to my countrymen and soldiers. But every multitude, like the sea, is incapable of moving itself; the winds and gales put it in motion: thus, when either calms or storms appear in you, all the madness lies in the first advisers. This you have caught by infection: and even this day, you do not seem to me to be sensible to what a pitch of folly you have proceeded, or how heinous your attempts have been with respect to me, how heinous with respect to your country, your parents, and your children; how heinous with respect to the gods, who were witnesses of your oath; how heinous against the practice of the service, the discipline of your ancestors, and the majesty of the supreme authority and rule! With regard to myself, I say nothing. Be it, that you believed the report rather through want of thought, than through a wish that it should be true; and let me even be supposed such a person, that it were no wonder if the army were weary of my command: yet, what had your country deserved of you, that, by uniting your counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis, you were going to betray it? What had the Roman people merited, when you took away the power from the tribunes appointed by their common suffrages, and conferred it on private men? when, not even content with having them for magistrates, you, a Roman army, bestowed the badges of your generals on men who never had been possessed of so much as a single slave? Albius and Atrius dwelt in the general's pavilion, the trumpets sounded by their orders, the word was taken from them, they sat on the

tribunal of Publius Scipio, they were attended by lictors, the way was cleared for them, the rods and axes were carried before them. That it should rain stones, that lightnings should be darted from heaven, and that animals should produce monstrous births, you look on as prodigies. This is a prodigy that can be expiated by no victims, by no supplications, without the blood of those who dared to commit such enormous crimes.

28. "Now although no wickedness proceeds on any grounds of reason, yet, in a transaction of such atrocity as this, I should be glad to know what was your intention, what your scheme. Formerly, a legion, which had been sent as a garrison to Rhegium, wickedly put to death the principal inhabitants, and kept possession of that opulent city for ten years; for which offence the whole legion, four thousand men, were beheaded in the forum at Rome. These, however, did not put themselves under the command of an Atrius, a man no better than a scullion, whose very name was ominous; but of Decius Jubellius, a military tribune; nor did they join themselves to the enemies of the Roman people, either to the Samnites or Lucanians. You united in counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis, with whom you intended to have united also your arms. Besides, those men expected to hold Rhegium as a lasting settlement, as the Campanians held Capua, after taking it from the ancient Tuscan inhabitants, and as the Mamertines held Messina in Sicily,—never entertaining a thought of making war on the Roman people or their allies. Did you intend to settle your habitations at Sucro? a place in which, if I your general at my departure, after finishing the business of the province, had left you, and there to remain, you ought to have appealed to gods and men, on not being allowed to return to your wives and children. But supposing that you had banished out of your minds all recollection of them, as you did of your country and of me, let us examine what could be your design, and whether it can be accounted for on the supposition of a depravity of principle, without including also the utmost degree of folly. While I was alive, and the other part of the army safe, with which I took Carthage in one day, with which I vanquished, put to flight, and drove out of Spain, four generals, with four armies of the Carthaginians; could you expect that you, who were but eight thousand men, (all of you of course inferior in worth to Albius and Atrius, since to their command you submitted yourselves,)—could you imagine, I say, that you should be able to wrest the province of Spain out of the hands of the Roman people? I lay no stress on my own name, I put it out of the question, supposing myself no far-

ther ill treated, than in your easily and joyfully giving credit to the report of my death. What! If I were dead; was the state to expire along with me? was the empire of the Roman people to fall with Scipio? Jove, supremely great and good, forbid that the city built for eternity, under the favour and direction of the gods, should last no longer than this frail and mortal body! Although so many illustrious commanders, Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Posthumius, Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quintius Crispinus, Cneius Fulvius, my relations the Scipios, have all been lost in one war, yet the Roman people still survive, and will survive, while a thousand others perish, some by the sword, some by disease: and must the Roman state have been carried out to burial along with my single body? You yourselves, here in Spain, when my father and uncle, your two generals, were slain, chose Septimus Marcius your leader against the Carthaginians, exulting in their late victory. I mention this as if Spain would have been without a leader; but would Marcus Silanus, who was sent into the province, invested with the same privileges, the same command with myself; would my brother Lucius Scipio, and Caius Lælius, lieutenants-general, be wanting to avenge the majesty of the empire? Could either the armies, or the leaders, or their dignity, or their cause, admit of a comparison? And even if you were superior to all these, would you bear arms on the side of the Carthaginians, against your country, against your countrymen? Would you wish that Africa should rule over Italy, Carthage over the city of Rome? And for what fault, I would ask, of your nation?

29. "Coriolanus, provoked by a grievous and undeserved banishment to take up arms against his oppressors, yielded, however, to the call of duty to a parent, and refrained from committing parricide on his country. What grief, what anger had incited you? Was the delay of your pay for a few days, and while your general was sick, sufficient reason for declaring war against your native land? to revolt from the Roman people to the Illyrians? to leave no obligation, divine or human, unviolated? Soldiers, the truth is, you have been mad; nor was the disorder which seized my body more violent than that which seized your minds. It shocks me to mention what such men believed, what they hoped, what they wished. But let all those matters be buried in oblivion, if possible; if not, let them however be covered in silence. I doubt not but my language may appear to you severe and harsh; yet how much more harsh your actions than my words! Do you think it reasonable that I should bear the facts which you have committed, and that you should not have patience to hear them mentioned? But

even with these things you shall be reproached no farther: I wish you may as easily forget them as I shall. Therefore, as to what concerns you all in general, if you are sorry for your error, I am fully satisfied with the expiation. The Calenian Albius, the Umbrian Atrius, and the other authors of that abominable mutiny, shall atone with their blood for the crime of which they have been guilty; and if you have recovered your sound judgment, the sight of their punishment will not only be not disagreeable, but even pleasing to you: for the tendency of their schemes was as pernicious and destructive to yourselves as to any other persons whatsoever." Scarcely had he finished his speech, when, according to a plan preconcerted, their eyes and ears were at once assailed by every object of terror. The troops which had formed a circle round the assembly clashed their swords against their shields; the herald's voice was heard citing by name those who had been condemned in the council: they were dragged naked into the midst, and at the same time all the apparatus for death was produced: they were chained to the stake, beaten with rods, and beheaded; the spectators all the while standing so benumbed with fear, that not only no violent expression against the severity of the punishment, but not even a groan was heard. They were then all dragged out, the place was cleared, and their fellows being summoned by their names, took the oath of obedience to Scipio before the tribunes of the soldiers, at the same time receiving their pay. Such was the end and issue of the rising which began at Sucro.

30. About the same time Hanno, Mago's lieutenant, having been sent from Gades with a small body of Africans, had, by tempting the Spaniards with money, collected four thousand young men in arms, near the river Bætis: but being afterward beaten out of his camp by Lucius Marcius, and having lost the greatest part of his forces in the tumult, and others also in the flight, (his disordered troops having been pursued by the cavalry,) he made his escape with very few attendants. During these transactions on the Bætis, Lælius sailing through the strait, came with the fleet to Carteja, a city situated on the coast, and where the sea begins to expand itself. There had been hopes of gaining possession of Gades without a contest, by means of a conspiracy of the inhabitants, some of whom came of their own accord to the Roman camp with promises to that effect, as has been mentioned before; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe; and Mago having seized all the conspirators, gave them in charge to Adherbal the pretor, to be conducted to Carthage. Adherbal put them on board a ship of five banks, and sending it off before him, because it sailed

slower than any one of three banks, followed himself at a small distance with eight three-banked vessels. The quinquereme was just entering the strait, when Lælius, who had sailed in a quinquereme also from the harbour of Carteja, attended by seven triremes, bore down on Adherbal and the triremes; taking for granted that the quinquereme, once caught in the rapid current of the narrow pass, would not be able to tack about. The Carthaginian, alarmed by this unexpected affair, hesitated for some time whether he should follow the quinquereme, or face the enemy. This delay put it out of his power to avoid an engagement, for they were already within a weapon's cast, and the Roman pressing him closely on all sides. The force of the stream, too, had rendered it impossible to manage their ships; nor was the fight like a naval engagement, for nothing was effected either by skill or prudence. The tide, indeed, might be said to have the entire command, for it bore them down, sometimes on their own, sometimes on the Roman vessels, while they were endeavouring in vain to row in a contrary direction; so that a ship which was flying, might be seen whirled round by an eddy, and carried full against the conqueror; while another, engaged in pursuit, if it happened to fall into a contrary current, would be turned about as if for flight. Thus one ship aiming a violent stroke of its beak against the hull of the enemy, being carried itself in an oblique direction, received a blow from the beak of that it had strove to pierce; while that which lay with its side exposed to the assailant was suddenly whirled round, so as to present its prow to them. While the battle between the triremes was thus doubtful and irregular, being governed entirely by chance, the Roman quinquereme, more manageable, either from being steadier on account of its great weight, or from making its way through the eddies by its superior number of rowers, sunk two triremes, and brushing along close by a third, swept off the oars on the one side, handling roughly some others which it had overtaken: but Adherbal crowded sail, and with the five remaining ships escaped to Africa.

31. Lælius returning victorious to Carteja, and having learned there what had passed at Gades, (that the plot had been discovered, the conspirators sent to Carthage, and the hopes which had invited them thither entirely frustrated,) he sent to acquaint Læcius Marcius, that he was of opinion that they ought to return to the general, unless they chose to waste time to no purpose lying before Gades. Marcius assenting, they both returned to Carthage. A few days after, by their departure, Mago not only gained a respite from the dangers which had environed him both by sea and land, but on hearing of the rebellion of the Illergetians, he even conceived

hopes of recovering Spain. He sent messengers to the senate at Carthage, with instructions to exaggerate both the intestine dissension in the Roman camp, and the defection of the allies; and to exhort them to send such supplies as should enable him to recover the empire of Spain, which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. Mandonius and Indibilis, returning into their own territories, kept themselves quiet for some time, not knowing what to determine, until they could learn what measures were taken with regard to the mutiny; for if pardon were granted by Scipio to his countrymen, they did not doubt but that it would extend to themselves. But when the punishment of the offenders came to be known, supposing that their own crime would be thought to demand an equal atonement, they called their countrymen to arms, and re-assembling the auxiliaries which had joined them before, they marched out with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse into the territory of Sedeta, where, at the beginning of the revolt, they had established a camp.

32. Scipio quickly conciliated the affections of his men by his punctuality in discharging all arrears to the guilty as well as to the innocent, and which was strengthened by the mildness of his discourse, and the benignity of his countenance towards all without distinction. Summoning an assembly on his departure from Carthage, after copious invectives against the perfidy of the petty princes then in rebellion, he declared that "he was setting out to take vengeance for their crimes, with feelings very different from those which he had lately experienced, while he was applying a remedy to the error of his countrymen: that then he had, with grief and tears, as if cutting his own bowels, expiated either the imprudence or the guilt of eight thousand men by the death of thirty; but now he was proceeding with cheerfulness and confidence to the destruction of the Illyretians: for these were neither born in the same land, nor connected with him by any bond of society; and for the only connexion which had subsisted, that of good faith and friendship, they had wickedly rent it asunder. That there was one circumstance respecting his army which gave him great satisfaction, which was, their being all either of his own country, allies, or of the Latine confederacy: that there was scarcely a single soldier in it who had not been brought thither from Italy, either by his uncle, Cneius Scipio, the first of the Roman name who entered that province, or by his father in his consulate, or by himself: that they were all accustomed to the name and authority of the Scipios: that he wished to carry them home with him to a well-deserved triumph: and that he entertained confident hopes that they would support

his claim to the consulship, as if they were every one of them to share the honour of it. That as to the expedition before them, that man must have forgotten his own exploits who could consider it as a war: for his part, he was really more concerned about Mago, who had fled with a few ships, beyond the limits of the world, into a spot surrounded by the ocean, than about the Illyretians; for on that spot there was a Carthaginian general; and whatever forces might be there, they were Carthaginians. Here was only a band of robbers, and leaders of robbers; who, though they might have courage sufficient for ravaging their neighbours' grounds, burning their houses, and seizing their cattle, would show none in the field, or in regular battle; and who, whenever they should see an enemy, would rely more on their activity for flight, than on their arms. It was not, therefore, because he apprehended any danger from thence that he had determined to suppress the Illyretians before he left the province, but principally that such a heinous revolt should not escape without punishment: and also, that it might not be said that there was one enemy left in a country which had been overrun with such bravery and success. He desired them, therefore, with the favour of the gods, to follow him, not to what could properly be called a war, for the contest was not with a people on an equality with them, but to inflict punishment on a set of criminals."

33. After this discourse he dismissed them, with orders to prepare for a decampment on the following morning. After a march of ten days, he arrived at the river Iberus, which he passed, and on the fourth day he pitched his camp within sight of the enemy. There was a plain before him, encircled by mountains; into this valley Scipio ordered some cattle, taken mostly from the surrounding lands, to be driven forward, in order to provoke the savage greediness of the barbarians; sending with them some light-armed troops as a guard, and giving orders to Lælius, that as soon as these should be engaged in skirmishing, he should charge with the cavalry from a place of concealment. A conveniently projecting mountain covered the ambush of the cavalry, and the battle began without delay; for the Spaniards rushed on the cattle as soon as they saw them at a distance, and the light infantry attacked them, occupied with their booty. At first, they endeavoured to terrify each other with missive weapons; afterward, having discharged their light darts, which were fitter to provoke than to decide the fight, they drew their swords, and began to engage foot to foot. The contest between the infantry was doubtful; but the cavalry came up, who, charging straight forward, not only trod down all before them, but some also, wheeling round along

the foot of the steep, fall on the enemy's rear, enclosing the greater part of them: so that the number slain was far more considerable than is usual in such kinds of engagements. This discomfiture served rather to inflame the rage of the barbarians than depress them. In order therefore to show that they were not dispirited, at the first light on the day following they led out their troops to battle. The valley being narrow, as has been mentioned, could not contain all their forces; so that only about two thirds of the infantry and all their cavalry came down to the engagement. The remainder of the foot they posted on a hill on one side. Scipio, judging that the narrowness of the ground was a favourable circumstance to him, both because fighting in a confined space seemed better suited to the Roman than the Spanish soldier, and also because the enemy could not completely form their line, turned his thoughts to a new scheme. Finding that he could not extend his cavalry on the wings, and that those of the enemy whom they had brought out with the infantry, would be useless, he ordered Lælius to lead the cavalry round the hills by the most concealed roads, and to keep separate as much as possible the fight of the cavalry from that between the infantry. He himself led forward the battalions of infantry, placing four cohorts in front, for he could not greatly extend his line, and without delay began the engagement, in order to divert the enemy's attention, by the hurry of the conflict, from Lælius' detachment, who were advancing from among the hills. In this they succeeded, for the Spaniards were unconscious of their coming, until they heard the tumult of the fight between them and their own cavalry on the rear. Thus there were two different battles; two lines of foot, and two bodies of horse, were engaged along the extent of the plain, the circumscribed ground not allowing them to be composed of both together. On the side of the Spaniards, as neither the foot could assist the horse, nor the horse the foot, the latter, who had rashly ventured into the plain, relying on the support of their cavalry, were cut to pieces; and the cavalry being surrounded, could neither withstand the Roman infantry in front (for by this time their own was entirely cut off) nor the cavalry on their rear; but, having formed in a circle, and defended themselves a long time without changing their position, they were all slain to a man. Thus not one of those who were engaged in the valley, either horse or foot, survived the fight. The third company, which had stood on the hill rather to view the engagement securely, than to take any part in it, had both room and time to make their escape. The two princes also fled with them during the tumult, and before the army was entirely surrounded.

24. The same day the camp of the Spaniards was taken, together with about three thousand men, besides other booty. Of the Romans and their allies, there fell one thousand two hundred; above three thousand were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody, if the battle had happened in a more extensive plain, so as to have allowed the enemy an easy flight. Indibilis, renouncing his project of proceeding farther in the war, and seeing no better prospect of safety in this desperate state of his affairs than in the honour and clemency of Scipio, which he had already experienced, sent his brother Mandonius to him; who, prostrating himself at his feet, lamented "the fatal frenzy of the times, wherein, as it were; through some pestilent contagion, not only the Illergetians and Lacetanians, but even the Roman camp, had been infected; that the present state of himself, his brother, and the rest of his countrymen, was such, that if it was required they would surrender up to Scipio the life which he had spared to them; or, if they might be still preserved, they would ever devote it to his service; for in such case they should be actually twice indebted to him alone for existence. That, in the former case, they had confidence in their cause, before they had made trial of his clemency; but now, on the contrary, they could have none in their cause, and their only hope lay in the mercy of their conqueror." It was the practice of the Romans, observed from very early times with respect to persons with whom they had formed no treaty of friendship or alliance, never to exercise any act of authority over them; for they were not held as subjects until they had surrendered all their property, both sacred and common, had given hostages, delivered up their arms, and received garrisons in their towns. On the present occasion, Scipio, after severely reproaching Mandonius, who was present, and Indibilis, who was absent, said that "they had deservedly been brought to ruin by their own wicked practices; that they should owe their lives to the generosity of himself and the Roman people. Farther, he would not even deprive them of their arms; those were only to be taken as pledges by such as feared a renewal of war; they should therefore be freely left them; nor should their minds be shackled with fear. Should they again revolt, he would not take vengeance on guiltless hostages, but on themselves; he would inflict no punishment on defenceless enemies, but on those who carried arms. That he left it to themselves, who had experienced both, to choose the favour or the resentment of the Romans." On these terms Mandonius was dismissed, and they were only fined a sum of money for the pay of the troops. Scipio, having sent on his lieutenant into Farther Spain, and Silanus back to Tarraco,

delayed only a few days, until the Illergetians had paid the fine demanded of them. Then, with some troops lightly equipped, he followed Marcius, whom he overtook at a small distance from the ocean.

35. The negotiation, some time before commenced with Masinissa, had been delayed by various causes: the Numidian choosing to confer only with Scipio himself, and from his hand to receive the ratification of the compact. This was Scipio's reason for undertaking at that time so long a journey, and to places so distant from his quarters. When Masinissa received notice at Gades from Marcius that he was drawing nigh, complaining that his horses were injured by being pent up in the island; that they not only caused a scarcity of every thing among the men, but felt it themselves; and besides that the horsemen were losing their spirits through want of exercise: he prevailed on Mago to allow him to pass over to the continent, to plunder the adjacent country of the Spaniards. On landing, he sent forward three chiefs of the Numidians, to fix a time and place for a conference, desiring that two of them might be detained by Scipio as hostages, and the third sent back to conduct him to the place appointed. They came to the conference with but few attendants; the Numidian had long been possessed with admiration of the man he was about to meet, from the fame of his exploits, and had formed a perfect idea of the grandeur and dignity of his person. But on seeing him, his veneration increased; for the elegance of his appearance, naturally majestic, was added to by his flowing hair, and by his becoming dress, not decorated with ornaments, but in a style truly manly and military; by his age also, as he was in full vigor, aided by the bloom of youth, renewed as it were after his late illness. At their meeting, the Numidian, struck with a degree of astonishment, first "thanked him for having sent home his brother's son; assured him that ever since the transaction he had sought for the present opportunity, which being at length offered by the favour of the immortal gods, he had not neglected; that he wished to exert himself in his service and that of the Roman people, with more zeal and effect than had ever been shown by any foreigner in support of the Roman interest; that although this had long been his wish, yet he was less able to affect it in Spain,—a territory with which he was little acquainted; but in his own country, in Africa, where he had been born and educated with the hopes of enjoying the kingdom of his father, it would be more easily in his power to serve them; that if the Romans thought proper to send the same commander, Scipio, into Africa, he had good reason to hope that the existence of Carthage would be of very short duration."

Scipio received and heard him with much satisfaction; he knew that Masinissa was the main support of the enemy with respect to cavalry, and the young man himself had given considerable proofs of spirit. After they had mutually pledged their faith, he returned to Tarraco; and Masinissa having, with permission of the Romans, ravaged the neighbouring soil, that he might not appear to have passed over to the continent for nothing, returned to Gades.

36. While Mago was preparing to pass into Africa, despairing of success in Spain, (of which he had been encouraged to entertain hopes, first, by the mutiny of the soldiers, and afterwards by the revolt of Indibilis,) information was brought from Carthage that the senate ordered him to carry over to Italy the fleet which he had at Gades, and, having there hired as many of the Gallic and Ligurian youths as he could find, to form a junction with Hannibal, and not to suffer the war to sink into languor, after the very great exertions and greater successes which had signalized its beginning. Money, to answer this purpose, was brought to Mago from Carthage: in addition to which, he extorted much from the people of Gades, plundering not only their treasury but their temples, and compelling them to bring in their private properties of gold and silver to the public stock. As he sailed along the coast of Spain, he landed his men not far from New Carthage; and having ravaged the lands adjoining, brought up his fleet from thence to the city; where, having kept his soldiers on board the ships during the day, he disembarked them in the night, and led them on to that part of the wall over which the Romans had entered when they took the place; for he had a notion that the garrison was not strong, and that, on seeing a hope of changing masters, some of the townsmen would raise a commotion. But those who had fled in a panic from the fields had already brought an account of the dispersion of the country people, and the approach of the enemy; the fleet also had been observed during the day, and it was sufficiently evident that its station before the city had not been chosen without some reason. The garrison were therefore drawn up and kept under arms within the gate which looks toward the basin and the sea. The enemy rushing on in a tumultuous manner, with crowds of seamen mixed among the soldiers, advanced to the walls with more noise than strength; when the Romans, suddenly throwing open the gate, rushed forth with a shout, and having disordered and repulsed the motley band at the first onset and discharge of their darts, pursued them with great slaughter to the coast; nor would one of them have survived the battle and the pursuit, had not the vessels, warping close to the shore, received them as

they fled in dismay. Those on ship-board also were not without their share of the confusion, occasioned by the drawing up of the ladders, lest the enemy should force in along with their own men, and in cutting away their cables and anchors to avoid the delay of weighing them. Many, in attempting to swim to the ships, as they could not in the declining light distinguish whither they ought to direct their course, or what to avoid, met a miserable death. Next day, when the fleet had fled back to the mid-ocean, there were found between the wall and the shore eight hundred men slain, and two thousand stands of arms.

37. Mago, returning to Gades, was not permitted to enter the place; on which he put with his fleet into Cimbis at a little distance, and from thence sent ambassadors, complaining of their having shut their gates against an ally and friend. While they apologized for this act, alleging that it had been done by a part of the multitude, who were offended because some of their effects had been carried off by the soldiers when they were embarking, he enticed their suffetes,* which is the name of the chief magistracy among the Carthaginians, and their treasurer, to a conference; and then ordered them to be crucified, after they had been mangled with stripes. From thence he sailed to the island Pityusa,† about one hundred miles from the continent, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians, where the fleet was received in a friendly manner, and supplied not only with abundance of provisions, but with a reinforcement of young men and arms. Emboldened by these succours, the Carthaginian proceeded to the Balearic islands, about fifty miles distant. There are two of the Balears;‡ one larger and more powerful in men and arms than the other, and which has also a harbour, where he believed he might pass the winter commodiously, as it was now the latter end of autumn. But here he met with an opposition as violent as if the inhabitants of that island had been Romans. As they now mostly use slings, so at that time these were their only weapons; in the skilful use

* These were two magistrates chosen annually, and invested with power similar to those of the Roman consuls. The Carthaginians had a senate also like that of the Romans. There was one peculiarity in their proceedings which deserves notice; when the members were unanimous, there was no appeal from their decision; but when opinions were divided, the business devolved to the community at large. For a very long time the people interfered but little with the administration of public affairs; but afterwards, by means of factions and cabals, they almost entirely engrossed it to themselves, which proved a principal cause of their ruin. They had a council consisting of one hundred and four members, called the tribunal of the hundred, to which the commanders of armies were responsible for their conduct.

† Ivica.

‡ Majorca and Minorca.

of which the Baleareans universally excel all others. Such a quantity, therefore, of stones was poured, like the thickest hail, on the fleet as it approached the land that, not daring to enter the harbour, the Carthaginians stacked about to the main. They then passed over to the smaller of the Baleares, which is equally fertile in soil, though, as already noted, of lesser strength. Here they landed, and pitched their camp in a strong post, over the harbour, taking possession of the city and country without a contest. Then, having enlisted auxiliaries, and sent them to Carthage for the winter, they hauled their ships on shore. After Mago had departed from the coast, the people of Gades surrendered to the Romans.

38. Such were the transactions in Spain under the conduct and command of Publius Scipio; who, having committed the charge of the province to Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Audinus, returned to Rome with ten ships; and having obtained an audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona, without the city, made a recital of his services in Spain, how often he had engaged the enemy in pitched battles, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he had reduced under the dominion of the Roman people; that "he had gone in Spain against four generals, and four armies, who were elated with victory; and that he had not left a Carthaginian in all that country." On account of these exploits, he rather made trial how far he might hope for a triumph than pushed for it with any earnestness; because it was well known that no one had ever been honoured with it for achievements performed, unless invested with a public office. When the senate was dismissed he proceeded into the city, and carried before him to the treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, and of coined silver a great sum. Lucius Veturius Philo then held the assembly for electing consuls; and all the centuries, with extraordinary marks of attachment, named Publius Scipio consul. The colleague joined with him was Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff. We are told that this election was attended by a greater concourse of people than any during that war. They had come together from all parts, not only for the purpose of giving their votes, but of getting a sight of Scipio; and ran in crowds, both to his house and to the capitol, while he was performing sacrifice, by offering to Jupiter a hundred oxen, which he had vowed on occasion of the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain. Strong expectations were at the same time entertained, that as Caius Lutatius had finished the former Punic war, so Publius Cornelius Scipio would finish the present; and that, as he had already expelled the Carthaginians from every part of Spain, he would in like manner expel them from Italy. They therefore destined

Africa to him as a province, as if the war in Italy were at an end. The election of the pretors was then held: two were appointed, who were at the time plebeian ediles, Spurius Lucretius and Cneius Octavius; and, of private rank, Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Lucius Æmilius Papus. In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, as soon as Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered on the consulship, the provinces for the consuls were named; for Scipio, Sicily, without drawing lots, with the consent of his colleague, because the necessary attendance on religious matters required the presence of the chief pontiff in Italy; for Crassus, Bruttium. The provinces of the pretors were then disposed of by lot; that of the city fell to Cneius Servilius; Ariminum (so they called Gaul) to Spurius Lucretius; Sicily to Lucius Æmilius; and Sardinia to Cneius Octavius. The senate was held in the capitol; there, on the matter being proposed by Publius Scipio, a decree was made, that the games which he had vowed during the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain should be exhibited, and the expense defrayed out of the money which himself had conveyed to the treasury.

39. He then introduced to the senate ambassadors from Saguntum, the eldest of whom addressed them in this manner: "Conscript fathers, although there is no degree of evil beyond what we have endured, in order that we might preserve our faith towards you inviolate to the last, yet so highly has your behaviour, and that of your commanders, merited at our hands, that we do not repent of having exposed ourselves to sufferings. On our account you undertook the war, and although it is now the fourteenth year since it began, yet you still maintain it with such persevering spirit as to endanger yourselves, while having often brought the Carthaginians to the very brink of ruin. At a time when you had so grievous a contest to maintain, and with such an antagonist as Hannibal, you sent your consul with an army into Spain, to collect as it were what remained of us after a shipwreck. Publius and Cneius Cornelius, from the moment of their arrival in the province, never ceased to pursue measures favourable to us and destructive to our enemies. They first of all regained and gave back to us our city; and sending persons to search for our countrymen, who had been sold and dispersed through every part of Spain, they restored them from slavery to liberty. When, after experiencing the utmost wretchedness, we were near being happily settled, your commanders, Publius and Cneius Cornelius, fell, more to be lamented by you. Then, indeed, it appeared as if we had been called from distant places to our original residence only that we

might be a second time ruined; only that we might see a second destruction of our country. That, to accomplish this, there was no occasion for an army of Carthaginians; we might be utterly destroyed by our oldest and most inveterate enemies, the Turdulans, who had also been the cause of our former calamity. In which conjuncture you speedily, and beyond our expectations, sent to us this Publius Scipio, the author of our well-being, the supporter of all our hopes; of whose election to the consulship our having been eye-witnesses, and our being able to carry home the joyful news to our countrymen, render us the happiest of the Saguntines. He, having taken a great number of the towns of your enemies in Spain, always separated the Saguntines from the rest of the prisoners, and sent them home to their own country; and lastly, by his arms, so humbled Turdetania—a state so inveterate in its animosity against us, that, if its power had continued, Saguntum must have fallen,—that not only we, but, (let me say it without presumption) even our posterity, need have no apprehension from it. We now see their city destroyed,—the city of a people for whose gratification Hannibal ruined Saguntum. We now receive tribute from their country—a circumstance not more gratifying to us, in the profit we derive from it, than in the satisfying of our revenge. In gratitude for these blessings, greater than which we could not either hope or implore from the immortal gods, the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us their ten ambassadors to present their thanks; and, at the same time, to congratulate you on the success which has of late years attended your arms in Spain and Italy. You hold the possession of Spain, so acquired, not only as far as the city of Iberus, but to the utmost limits and boundaries by the ocean; while in Italy you have left nothing to the Carthaginian but what the rampart of his camp incloses. To Jove, supremely great and good, who presides over the fortress of the capitol, we have been ordered, not only to make acknowledgments for these blessings, but, with your permission, to bear this offering, a golden crown, in token of victory. We request that you will permit us this act of reverence; and also that you will ratify by your authority, and fix on a permanent footing, the advantages bestowed on us by your commanders." The senate answered the Saguntine ambassadors, that "the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would be an example to all nations of social faith fulfilled on both sides; that their commanders, in restoring that city, and delivering its inhabitants from slavery, had acted properly, regularly, and agreeably to the intentions of the senate; that all other acts of kindness shown them had likewise their approbation; and that they gave them permission to deposit

their charge in the capitol." Orders were then given that apartments and entertainment should be provided for the ambassadors, and a present made to each of them of not less than ten thousand asses. * Other embassies were then introduced and heard. On the Saguntines requesting that they might be allowed to take a view of Italy, as far as they could go with safety, guides were given them, and letters despatched to all the towns, requiring them to entertain these Spaniards in a friendly manner. The senate then took into consideration the state of public affairs, the levying of troops, and the distribution of the provinces.

40. People in general expressed a desire that Africa should be constituted a new province, and assigned to Publius Scipio without casting lots; and he, not content with a moderate share of glory, affirmed that he had been appointed consul, not for the purpose only of carrying on the war, but of finishing it; that this could be accomplished by no other means than by transporting an army into Africa; declaring openly, that if the senate should oppose him in that point, he would carry it by the votes of the people. The principal senators by no means approved of the design; and whilst the rest, either through fear or a desire of ingratiating themselves with him, declined uttering their sentiments, Quintus Fabius Maximus, being asked his opinion, expressed himself to this effect: "I know, conscript fathers, that many among you are of opinion that we are this day deliberating on an affair already determined; and that he will expend words to little purpose who shall deliver his sentiments on the subject of Africa being constituted a province, as on a matter open to discussion; yet, in the first place, I do not understand how Africa can be a province, already secured to that brave and active commander, our consul, when neither the senate have voted, nor the people ordered, that it should at all be considered as such; and again, if it were, in my judgment it is the consul who acts amiss; for it is a mockery of the senate to pretend to consult them on a question if already decided, and not the senator, who in his place would speak to the business which he supposed in hand. Now I am well aware, that by disapproving this violent haste to pass over into Africa, I expose myself to two imputations: one the caution natural to my temper, which young men have my free consent to call cowardice and sloth; while I have no reason to be sorry that, although the schemes of others always carried at first view a more specious appearance, yet mine were on experience found to be more useful. The other imputation to which I shall be lia-

ble is that of detraction and envy towards the rising glory of the valiant consul :—from a suspicion of which kind, if neither my past life and morals can free me, nor a dictatorship and five consulships, together with such a store of glory acquired in the transactions both of war and peace, that it is more likely I should be satiated than desirous of more ; let my age, at least, acquit me. For what emulation can I have with him, who is not equal in age even to my son ? When I was dictator, when I was in full vigour, and proceeding in a course of the greatest achievements, no one heard me, either in the Senate or before the people, make opposition to the proposed measure, (although such as had never before been heard of, even in conversation,) of conferring power equal to mine on the master of the horse, and who at the very time was endeavouring to injure my character. I chose to effect my purpose by actions rather than words ; and that he who was set on a level with me in the judgment of others should at length, by his own confession, allow me a superiority over him. Much less would I now, after having passed through ever dignity of the state, propose to myself contests and emulations with a man blooming in youth. Is it that Africa, if refused to him, might be decreed to me,—to me, already wearied, not only with the toils of business, but even with the length of years ? No : with that glory which I have already acquired I am to live and die. I stopped the career of Hannibal's conquests, that you, whose powers are now in vigor, might be able to gain conquests over him.

41. " As I never, in my own case, regarded the opinion of the world when set in competition with the advantage of the state, it will be but reasonable that you pardon me, Publius Cornelius, if I do not consider even your fame in preference to the public good. If either there were no war in Italy, or the enemy here were such that a victory over him would be productive of no glory, he who should attempt to retain you in Italy, notwithstanding that he consulted therein the general welfare, might seem to intend, while he restrained you from removing the war, to deprive you of a subject of future glory. Yet Hannibal, a powerful enemy, with an army unimpaired, maintains a footing in Italy for the fourteenth year. Would you then have reason to be dissatisfied, Publius Cornelius, with your share of fame, if you should in your consulate expel such a foe from out of Italy ; a foe, who has been the cause of so much mourning, of so many calamities to us ? In fine, should you not be content to enjoy the reputation of having finished the present Punic war, as Caius Lutatius did that of finishing the former ? Unless, indeed, you will say that Hamilcar is a general

more formidable than Hannibal; or that a war in Africa is of greater importance than it would be in Italy; that a victory there, supposing it should be our good fortune to obtain such while you are consul, would be more profitable and illustrious than one here. Would you choose to draw away Hamilcar from Drepanum or Eryx, rather than to expel the Carthaginians and Hannibal out of Italy? Although you should look with a more partial regard on the renown which you have acquired, than to that which you have in prospect, yet surely you would not pride yourself so much in having freed Spain, as in freeing Italy. Hannibal is not yet in such a condition, that he who prefers engaging with another general must not evidently appear to be actuated by fear of him, rather than by contempt. Why, then, do you not direct your efforts to this point, and carry the strength of the war immediately to the place where Hannibal is, and not by that circuit, presuming that, when you shall have passed into Africa, Hannibal will follow you thither? Do you wish to be crowned with the distinguished honour of having finished the Punic war? In the very nature of things, you are to defend your own property, before you attack another's. Let peace be restored in Italy before hostilities commence in Africa. Let us be delivered from fear ourselves before we attempt to make others afraid of us. If both can be accomplished under your conduct and auspices, it will be well. After you have vanquished Hannibal at home, then go and lay siege to Carthage. If one or the other of these conquests must be left to succeeding consuls, the former, as it will be the more important and the more glorious, will be also the cause of the subsequent one: for in the present state of affairs, besides that the treasury cannot maintain two different armies, one in Italy, and another in Africa; besides that we have nothing left us wherewith we could equip fleets, or be able to supply provisions; who does not see what danger must be incurred? Publius Licinius will wage war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. What if Hannibal, having gained a superiority, should advance to the city, (may all the gods avert the omen! my mind is shocked even at mentioning it; but what has happened, may happen again,) will that be a time for us to be obliged to send for you, the consul, from Africa, as we sent for Quintus Fulvius from Capua? Besides, are we to suppose that in Africa the chances of war will not be the same with both parties? Let your father and your uncle be a warning to you, cut off, together with their armies, in the space of thirty days; and after having, during a course of several years, by their great services, as well on land as at sea, rendered the name of the Roman people, and of your family, in the

highest degree illustrious among foreign states. The whole day would not be sufficient, were I to recount to you all the kings and generals who, by passing rashly into an enemy's country, have brought the greatest calamities on themselves and their armies. The Athenians, for instance, a state remarkable for prudence, having, at the instigation of a youth who was distinguished as much by his active spirit as by his nobility, neglected a war at home, and sent over a large fleet to Sicily, (their commonwealth at that time in a most flourishing condition,) suffered, in one naval engagement, such a blow as could never be retrieved.

42. "But not to bring examples from distant countries, and times of such remote antiquity, Africa itself, and Marcus Atilius, (a remarkable instance of both extremes of fortune,) may serve as a warning to us. Be assured, Publius Cornelius, that, when you shall have a view of Africa from the sea, all your exploits in Spain will appear to you to have been only matter of sport and play. For in what circumstance can they be compared? After sailing along the coasts of Italy and Gaul, where there was nothing to oppose you, you carried your fleet into the harbor of Emporiæ, a city, belonging to our allies; and, having landed your men, you led them through countries entirely free from danger to Tarraco, to the friends and allies of the Roman people. From Tarraco you passed amid Roman garrisons. It was on the Iberus, indeed, that the armies of your father and uncle were exasperated by the loss of their generals, their new commander being Lucius Marcius, irregularly appointed, it is true, and chosen for the time by the suffrages of the soldiers; but, except that he wanted a noble birth, and a regular course of promotion, equal to many celebrated captains in every military accomplishment. The siege of New Carthage you carried on quite at your leisure, while neither of the three Carthaginian armies attempted to relieve the place. As to the rest of your exploits, I am far from wishing to lessen their merit, but they are certainly by no means to be compared with a war in Africa; where there is not a single harbour open to our fleet; no part of the country at peace with us; no state our ally; no king our friend; no room, any where, either to stand or advance. On whatever side you turn your eyes, all things are hostile and threatening. Will you depend on Syphax and the Numidians? Suffice it to say that they were once trusted. Rashness is not always successful; and hypocrisy, by acquiring a foundation of credit in smaller matters, prepares for itself the opportunity of deceiving with greater advantage. The foe did not get the better of your father and uncle by arms until their Celtiberian allies had first got the better of them

by treachery. Nor were you yourself brought into so much danger by Mago and Hasdrubal, the enemy's generals, as by Indibilis and Mandonius, whom you had received into your protection. Can you, who have experienced a defection of your own soldiers, place any confidence in Numidians? Both Syphax and Masinissa are desirous of becoming the greatest powers in Africa, to the exclusion of the Carthaginians; but still they prefer the interest of those people to that of any other state. At present, mutual emulation embitters them against each other, and which arises from their feeling no immediate apprehensions from any foreign force. The moment they behold the Roman arms, they will instantly unite, as if to extinguish a fire equally threatening them both. The efforts which these same Carthaginians made in support of Spain were widely different from what they will exert in defence of the walls of their native city, of the temples of their gods, their altars, and their dwellings; when their wives, distracted with fear, shall accompany them as they go to battle, and their helpless children gather round them. Besides, what if the Carthaginians, thinking themselves sufficiently secured by the harmony subsisting in Africa, by the faith of the kings their allies, and by their own fortifications, should on seeing Italy deprived of your protection, either send over a new army from Africa into Italy, or order Mago (who, we know, has sailed over from the Baleares, and is now cruising on the coast of the Alpine Ligurians) to join his forces to those of Hannibal? We should then be seized with the same terror which we felt lately, on hearing of the approach of Hasdrubal, and whom you, (who are to shut up with your army, not only Carthage, but all Africa,) allowed to slip through your hands into Italy. You will say that he was defeated by you: the less, for that very reason, can I wish that he should be permitted, after being defeated, to march into this country; and that, not only on the account of the public, but your own also. Allow us to ascribe to your good conduct all those events in your province which were favourable to you and to the state, and to impute such as were unfavourable to fortune, and to the chances of war. The more merit and bravery you possess, the more is your country and all Italy concerned to keep at home so powerful a protector. You cannot but acknowledge that wherever Hannibal is, there the main stress and head of the present war must be looked for: yet the reason you give for passing over into Africa is, that you may draw Hannibal thither. Whether the Carthaginians, therefore, be in this country or in that, your business is to oppose him. Now, I pray you, whether will you be better able to cope with him in Africa, where you are to stand

alone, or here, with the army of your colleague joined to your own? Is not the importance of this consideration sufficiently evinced by the recent fate of the consuls Claudius and Livius? What! is Hannibal to be feared here, as receiving an augmentation of men and arms from the remotest corner of the country of Bruttium, (and which he in vain solicits from home,) or with Carthage at his back, and all Africa confederated with him? What is this plan of choosing to fight there, where your forces must be less by half, and those of the enemy considerably greater, rather than here, at the head of two armies against one, and that one impaired in strength by so many battles, and by such long and laborious service? Consider well how far this plan of yours resembles that of your father. He in his consulship, after having gone to Spain, came back from his province to Italy, in order to meet Hannibal as he was descending from the Alps: you, when Hannibal is in Italy, intend to quit the country, not because you judge that measure useful to the state, but because you expect from it splendour and glory to yourself. Just as when, without an order of the commons, without a decree of the senate, you left your province and your army;—yes, you, a commander employed by the Roman people, intrusted to two ships the fortune of the public, and the majesty of the empire, which were then exposed to hazard in your person. In my judgment, conscript fathers, Publius Cornelius Scipio was elected consul for the purpose of serving us and the people, not for his own private schemes of ambition. In my opinion, the armies were enlisted for the protection of the city and of Italy, and not to be carried about by the consuls with king-like ostentation, in gratification of their own vanity, and to any part of the world they may think proper.”

43. By this speech, formed for the occasion, by his authority and his established character for prudence, Fabius influenced a great part of the senate, especially those advanced in years; and a greater number approving of the wariness of the sage than of the spirit of the youth, Scipio is said to have spoken thus: “Conscript fathers, even Quintus Fabius himself, in the beginning of his speech, has acknowledged that, in the declaration which he has made of his sentiments, he might possibly be suspected of detraction; and although I will not presume to bring a charge of such a nature against so great a man, yet certainly, whether through a defect in his discourse, or in the subject, the suspicion has not been removed. For, in order to avoid the imputation of envy, he has extolled his own honours, and the fame of his exploits, in very magnificent terms; tending to show that whatever competition I may enter into with others, however I may fear

that some person, now in obscurity, may one day be equal with me; yet, from him I have no kind of rivalry to apprehend; for he has attained to such a height of eminence that he will not suffer me at any time to be placed on a level with him, however anxiously I may wish it; and that I do wish it, I will by no means dissemble. He has, therefore, represented himself as a man of gravity and wisdom, who has passed through every degree of public honours; and me as below the age even of his son; as if ambition extended not its views beyond the present life, and did not look forward to posterity and future remembrance as the greatest possible reward. I well know that it is usual with persons of exalted merit to compare themselves with the illustrious men, not only of the present, but of every age; and I do not deny, Quintus Fabius, that I wish not only to overtake you in the race of glory, but pardon the expression, to outrun you, if I can. That disposition of mind will not, I hope, affect you towards me, nor me towards my juniors, that we should be displeased if any of our countrymen became distinguished like ourselves; for that would be an injury not only to those who were the objects of our envy, but to the state, and in some measure to all mankind. Fabius has descanted on the danger which I must incur if I pass into Africa, so as to appear anxious, not only about the safety of the nation and the army, but about mine. Whence has this concern for me so suddenly arisen? when my father and uncle were slain; when their two armies were cut off almost to a man; when Spain was lost; when four armies and four generals of the Carthaginians, by terror and by arms, kept possession of every thing; when the public were at a loss for a general to conduct that war, and no one stepped forward except myself; when no one dared to declare himself a candidate; when the Roman people had conferred the command on me, though but twenty-four years old—how happened it that no mention was then made of my age, of the power of the enemy, of the difficulties of opposing him, or of the recent calamity of my relatives? Has any greater misfortune befallen us in Africa than had at that time been experienced in Spain? Are there now on that continent more numerous armies or better generals than there were then in Spain? Was I fitter at that time of life for conducting a war than I am now? Is a contest with a Carthaginian enemy less difficult in Spain than in Africa? It is an easy matter, after four Carthaginian armies routed and entirely dispersed; after so many cities taken by force; or terrified into a surrender, while all places, even as far as the ocean, have been brought under entire subjection; while so many savage nations have been wholly reduced; in a word, after all Spain has been reconquered, and in such a manner

as that no trace of war remains ;—it is easy, I say, to depreciate the value of my services ; just as easy, in truth, as it will be, if I shall return victorious from Africa, to make light of those very circumstances which are now so greatly aggravated, and painted in such terrible colours, for the purpose of detaining me here. It is affirmed that no entrance can be found into Africa ; that there are no harbours open to us ; that Marcus Atilius was taken prisoner there, as if Marcus Atilius had miscarried on approaching that coast. But Fabius does not recollect that this commander (afterwards, indeed, unfortunate) found the harbors of Africa open, and during the first year performed extraordinary services ; and as far as concerned the Carthaginian generals, remained unconquered to the last. The example which you produce, therefore, does not in the least deter me. If that loss had even been sustained in the present war, and not in the former ; if lately, and not forty years ago, yet why should I not as well pass into Africa after Regulus was made prisoner, as into Spain, after the Scipios were slain ; nor suffer it to be said that the birth of Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, was, by the defeat of our consul, more fortunate to Carthage, than mine to my own country ? and why might not I assume additional confidence from that very circumstance, that it was possible for the bravery of one man, a Spartan, to produce such important consequences ? But we are also told of the Athenians neglecting a war at home, and passing inconsiderately into Sicily. Why do you not rather, since you have leisure to account Grecian fables, mention Agathocles, king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was for a long time wasted by a Punic war, by passing over into this same Africa, averted that war to the place from whence it came ?

44. " But what need is there either of ancient or foreign examples to remind us how useful it is to spread terror among the enemy by a sudden attack ; and after removing the danger to a distance from ourselves, to make him abide the hazard ? Can there be any greater or more striking instance than is found in Hannibal ? Between wasting the territories of others, and seeing our own destroyed with fire and sword, the difference is immense. The assailant has ever more spirit than the defendant ; and people's apprehensions are the greater in the latter case. When you have entered an enemy's territories, you can then see more distinctly the advantages and disadvantages which pertain to the same. Hannibal never entertained a hope that so many nations in Italy would revolt to him as did, and which was induced by our misfortune at Cannæ. How much less can any firm and steady support in Africa be expected by the Carthaginians, who are themselves faithless allies, severe and haughty

masters? As to ourselves, even when deserted by confederates, we stood firm in our own natural strength, the soldiery of Rome. This the Carthaginians do not possess; besides, their soldiers are procured for hire,—Africans, with Numidians, of all men the most unsteady in their attachments. If no obstruction be thrown in my way at home, you shall shortly hear, that I have made good my descent, and that Africa is in a blaze of war; that Hannibal, in returning thither, comes but to experience a defeat, and that Carthage is besieged: in fine, expect confidently more frequent and more joyful despatches from that continent than you received from Spain. These hopes are suggested to me by the fortune of the Roman people, the gods who witnessed the treaty which the enemy have violated, and the friendship of the kings, Syphax and Masinissa, to whom I shall look for aid while securing myself against perfidy. The war will disclose many things which do not appear now; and it is the business of a general not to fail of improving the overtures of fortune, and to convert casual occurrences to the accomplishment of his designs. I shall, Quintus Fabius, have the antagonist whom you assign me, Hannibal: I shall compel him to fight in his own country, and Carthage rather shall be the prize, than the half-ruined forts of the Bruttians. With respect to the security of the state, and that it should suffer no injury while I am on my passage; while I am landing my army in Africa; while I am marching forward to Carthage; be careful in any assertion as to what you, Quintus Fabius, were able to accomplish, at a time when Hannibal was pursuing a rapid career of victory through all parts of Italy; be mindful, I say, lest it be considered as an insult, that you do not too freely affirm of him, that, shaken and almost broken in pieces, his overthrow by Publius Licinius the consul were easy,—a man, by-the-way, of the most consummate valour, and who declined the lot of so distant a province as Africa, only because, being chief pontiff, he must not be absent from his religious duties. In fact, even though the war were not to be brought to a speedier conclusion by the method which I propose, still it would concern the dignity of the Roman people, and their reputation among foreign kings and nations, that we should appear to have spirit, not only to defend Italy, but to carry our arms into Africa; and that it should not be spread abroad, and believed, that no Roman general dared what Hannibal had dared; and that, in the former Punic war, when the contest was about Sicily, Africa had been often attacked by our fleets and armies; but that now, when the contest is about Italy, Africa should enjoy peace. Let Italy, so long harassed, enjoy at length some repose: let Africa, in its turn, feel fire and sword. Let the Roman

camp press on the very gates of Carthage, rather than that we, a second time, should behold from our walls the rampart of that of the enemy. Let Africa, in short, be the seat of the remainder of the war: thither be removed terror and flight, devastation of lands, revolt of allies, and all the other calamities with which, for fourteen years, we have been afflicted. It is sufficient that I have delivered my sentiments on those matters which affect the state, the dispute in which we are involved, and the provinces under consideration: my discourse would be tedious and unsuitable to this audience, if, as Quintus Fabius has depreciated my services in Spain, I should, on the other hand, endeavour in like manner to disparage his glory, and extol my own. I shall do neither, conscript fathers; but young as I am, I will show that I excel that sage, if in nothing else, yet certainly in modesty and temperance of language. Such has been my life and conduct, that I can, in silence, rest perfectly satisfied with that character which your own judgments have formed of me."

45. Scipio was heard the less favourably on account of a rumour which prevailed, that if he did not carry the point in the senate, of having Africa decreed to him as his province, he was determined immediately to submit the business to public decision. Therefore Quintus Fulvius, who had been consul four times, and censor, demanded of the consul, that he should declare openly in the senate, whether "he meant to abide by the determination of the fathers in regard to the provinces, or whether he intended to bring the matter before the people." Scipio having answered, that he would act in such a manner as he should deem most advantageous to the state, Fulvius replied, "I did not ask the question through ignorance of what you would answer, and what you intended to do. It is thus plainly seen, that you are rather sounding the senate, than consulting them; and have an order ready to be proposed to the people, if we do not immediately decree to you the province that you desire. I therefore call on you, tribunes, to support me in refusing to give my opinion, and for this reason, that, although a majority should concur with me, yet the consul would appeal from their judgment." On this, an altercation arose, Scipio insisting that it was unfair for the tribunes to interpose, so as to prevent any senator from giving his opinion on being asked it in his place. The tribunes determined thus: "If the consul submits the regulation of the provinces to the senate, we are satisfied that their decision shall be final, and we will not suffer that matter to be carried before the people; if he does not so submit it, we will support such as shall refuse to give their opinion on the subject." The consul desired time until the next day, that he might confer with his colleague, and

the affair was then submitted to the senate, who decreed the provinces in this manner: to one consul, Sicily, and the thirty ships of war, which Caius Servilius had commanded the preceding year, with permission to pass over into Africa, if he should judge it for the advantage of the state; to the other, Bruttium, and the war against Hannibal, with the army which Lucius Veturius, or that which Quintus Cæcilius commanded; that these latter should cast lots, or settle between themselves, which of them should command in Bruttium, with the two legions which would be left by the consul; and that he, to whose lot that province fell, should be continued in it for another year. The others also, who were to have the charge of the armies, besides the consuls and pretors, had their commission prolonged. It fell by lot to Quintus Cæcilius, that, in conjunction with the consul, he should manage the war against Hannibal in Bruttium. Scipio's games were then exhibited to a vast concourse of spectators, who expressed the highest approbation. Marcus Pomponius Matho, and Quintus Catius, being sent ambassadors to Delphi, with a present out of the spoils of Hasdrubal, carried a golden crown of two hundred pounds weight, and representations of the prizes, formed of one thousand pounds weight of silver. Although Scipio had not obtained nor earnestly solicited authority to levy soldiers, he yet was permitted to enrol volunteers; and as he had declared that the fleet should be no expense to the public, so he might receive such contributions as should be offered by the allies for building new ships. The states of Etruria first promised to give assistance to the consul proportioned to the respective abilities of each; the people of Cære engaged to bring corn and provisions of all kinds for the seamen; the Populonians, iron; the Tarquinians, canvass for sails; the Volaterrans, tackling and corn; the Arretians, thirty thousand shields, the same number of helmets; of javelins, short pikes, and long spears, each an equal number, amounting in the whole to fifty thousand; to supply axes, mattocks, bills, buckets, and millstones, sufficient for forty ships of war, with one hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat; they also promised to contribute to the expense of the decurions* and rowers. The people of Perusium, Clusium, and Rusella gave assurance of fir for building ships, and a large quantity of corn. The states of Umbria, with the people of Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, and the whole country of the Sabines, engaged to furnish soldiers. Fir, however, he took out of the woods belonging to the state. Great numbers of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrusiniens, voluntarily

* Officers who had the command of the rowers.

gave in their names to serve in the fleet. The Camertans, though confederated with the Romans on equal terms, sent a cohort of six hundred men and arms. Having laid the keels of thirty ships, twenty quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes, Scipio pressed forward the work by his personal attendance in such a manner, that on the forty-fifth day after the timber had been brought from the wood, the ships were rigged, armed, and launched.

46. The consul proceeded to Sicily with thirty ships of war, having embarked about seven thousand volunteers. Publius Licinius came into Bruttium to the two consular armies, of which he chose for himself that which had been commanded by the late consul Lucius Veturius; he placed Metellus at the head of the same legions as before, because he thought it would be the easier for him to transact business with those who were accustomed to his command: the pretors also repaired to their different provinces. Money for the war being wanting, the questors were ordered to sell a district of the Campanian territory, extending from the Grecian trench to the sea; they were also empowered to make inquiry what lands had been the property of any native, in order that they might be transferred to the Roman people; with a reward to any informer of the tenth part of the value of lands so discovered. It was also given in charge to Cneius Servilius, pretor of the city, that the natives of Campania should be obliged to remain in those places which had been decreed for their residence by the senate, and that such as removed to any other should be punished. During the same summer, Mago, son of Hamilcar, after having spent the winter in the smaller of the Baleares, and having there embarked a chosen body of young men on board his fleet, which consisted of near thirty ships of war and a great number of transports, carried into Italy twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse; and, by his unexpected arrival, surprised Genoa, there being no forces stationed to protect the coast. From thence he sailed to the coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to try if he could raise any commotions there. The Ingaunians, a tribe of the Ligurians, were at that time engaged in war with the Epanterians, who inhabited the mountains: the Carthaginian, therefore, having deposited his plunder at Savo, a town of the Alps, and left a squadron of ten ships of war to protect it, sent the rest to Carthage, to guard the sea-coast, a report being spread that Scipio intended to pass over thither. He then formed an alliance with the Ingaunians, whose friendship he esteemed, resolving in person to attack the mountaineers. His army increased daily, the Gauls, induced by the greatness of his character, pour-

ing in from all sides. When the senate were informed of these proceedings by letters from Spurius Lucretius, they were filled with much anxiety, apprehending that the joy which they had conceived on the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, two years before, would prove ill-founded, if another war equal to the former, only under a different general, were to arise from the same quarter. They therefore commanded Marcus Livius, proconsul, to march an army of volunteer slaves from Etruria to Ariminum, at the same time charging the pretor, Cneius Servilius, if he judged it advantageous to the state, to order the city legions to be led into the field, by such commander as he should think proper. Marcus Valerius Lævinus conducted those legions to Arretium. About this time eighty transport ships of the Carthaginians were taken on the coast of Sardinia by Cneius Octavius, who held the government of that province. Cælius relates that these were laden with corn and provisions for Hannibal; Valerius, that they were carrying to Carthage the plunder of Etruria, and the Ligurian mountaineers, who had been made prisoners. In Bruttium, hardly any thing memorable happened during that year. A pestilence had attacked both Romans and Carthaginians with equal violence, except that the Carthaginians, besides the disorder, were distressed by famine. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinea, where he built and dedicated an altar, with an inscription in the Carthaginian and Greek characters, containing a pompous recital of his exploits.

BOOK XXIX.

CHAP. 1. WHEN Scipio arrived in Sicily he formed his volunteers into cohorts and centuries; of which forces he kept three hundred about him, all of them vigorous young men, and ignorant of the purpose for which they were reserved, being neither enrolled in the centuries nor supplied with arms. Then, out of the whole number of youths in Sicily, he chose also three hundred of distinguished birth and fortune as horsemen, who were to pass over with him into Africa, appointing a day on which they were to attend, equipped and furnished with horses and arms. This service appeared to them very severe, being so far from home, and attended with great fatigues and great dangers, both by sea and land; so much so, that not only themselves, but

their parents and relations, were distressed with anxiety on their account. At the time appointed, they brought their horses and arms to be inspected; Scipio then told them that "he was informed that some of the Sicilian horsemen dreaded the service on which they were going, as laborious and severe; that if any were thus affected he wished them to acknowledge it then to him, rather than to complain afterward, and prove inactive and useless soldiers to the state: he desired them to express their sentiments freely, assuring them they should be listened to without displeasure." On which one of them ventured to say, that if he had a free option, he certainly would wish to decline the service. Scipio replied, "Since then, young man, you have not dissembled your sentiments, I will provide a substitute for you, to whom you must deliver your horse, your arms, and other implements of war; take him hence directly to your house; exercise him, and take care that he be instructed in the management of his horse and arms." These terms the other embraced with joy, on which Scipio put into his hands one of the three hundred which he kept unarmed. When the others saw the horseman discharged in this manner, with the approbation of the general, each began to excuse himself and receive a substitute. Thus were Roman horsemen substituted in the place of the three hundred Sicilians, without any expense to the public. The Sicilians had the trouble of instructing and exercising them; the general having ordered, that any who did not perform this should continue in the service. We are told that this proved an excellent body of horse, and did good service to the state in many battles. Afterward, reviewing the legions, he chose out of them those soldiers who had been the longest time in the army, especially those who had served with Marcellus; believing that they were not only formed under the best discipline, but, in consequence of the long siege of Syracuse, were best skilled in the method of attacking towns; for the object to which his views were now directed was no small matter, being nothing less than the utter destruction of Carthage. He then cantoned his army in the different towns; ordered in a supply of corn from the Sicilian states, sparing what he had brought from Italy; repaired the old ships, and sent Caius Lælius with them to Africa, to plunder the country; then hauled up the new ones on land at Panormus, that they might lie dry during the winter, because they had been hastily built of green timber; and having completed the preparations for the war, he came to Syracuse, where tranquillity was not yet entirely re-established after the late violent commotion. The Greeks, in pursuance of a grant of the senate, demanding a

restoration of their effects from some Italians, who kept possession of them with the same force with which they had seized them, Scipio, reckoning it essentially requisite to support the public faith, procured a restitution of the same; partly by a proclamation issued, and partly by sentences passed against those who persisted in retaining their unjust acquisitions. This proceeding was highly acceptable not only to the persons aggrieved, but to all the states of Sicily, and added to their alacrity in forwarding the preparations for war.

2. A formidable war was raised this summer in Spain by the instigation of Indibilis the Illergetian, on no other grounds than the contempt which, through his great admiration of Scipio, he entertained of all other generals. He was of opinion that "this commander was the only one whom the Romans had remaining, the others of any note having, as he conceived, been slain by Hannibal: for when the Scipios were cut off in Spain, they had none whom they could send thither; and afterward, when the war pressed too heavily on them in Italy, the present one had been recalled to act against Hannibal. That, besides the Romans having only nominal generals in Spain, their veteran army had been withdrawn from thence: that, among the troops which remained, there was neither spirit nor firmness, as they consisted of an undisciplined multitude of new recruits: that there would never again be such an opportunity of asserting the liberty of Spain: that until that day they had been slaves either to the Carthaginians or Romans; and that, not to one or the other by turns, but sometimes to both together: that the Carthaginians had been expelled by the Romans, and that the Romans might now be expelled by the Spaniards, if these would act with unanimity; so that, being for ever freed from the dominion of foreigners, they might return to their own native manners and rites." By these, and other like discourses, he roused to arms, not only his own countrymen, but the Ausetanians also, a neighbouring state, with other nations that bordered on his and their country; so that within a few days thirty thousand foot and about four thousand horse assembled in the territory of Sedeta, according to his directions. On the other side, the Roman generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidianus, lest the war, being neglected in the beginning, should spread with increasing violence, united their armies; and conducting them through the country of the Ausetanians in as peaceable a manner as if they were among friends, they arrived at the place where the enemy lay, and pitched their tents at three miles' distance from the Spanish camp. By sending ambassadors they endeavoured to prevail on them to lay aside their arms, but in

vain. Afterward, the Spanish horsemen having made a sudden attack on the foragers of the Romans, and the latter sending some troops to support them from one of their outposts, there ensued a battle between the cavalry, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage.

3. At sunrise next day the whole force of the enemy appeared in arms, and drawn up in order of battle, at the distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetanians were in the centre, the Illergetians formed the right wing, and people of several inconsiderable Spanish states the left: between the wings and the main body they had left very wide intervals, through which the horse might charge on occasion. The Romans drew up their army in the usual manner, yet so far following the example of the enemy as to leave passages open for the cavalry between the legions. Lentulus, however, considering that the horse could be of use only to that party which should first make an attack on the enemy's line, divided by the intervals, commanded Servius Cornelius, tribune of the soldiers, to order them to charge through the same. The fight between the infantry being rather unfavourable to the Romans at the beginning, he was obliged to delay for a time, while the thirteenth legion from the reserve was brought up to the first line, so as to support the twelfth, which had been posted in the left wing against the Illergetians, and which began to give ground. The fight being restored, Scipio hastened to Lucius Manlius, who was exerting himself among the foremost battalions, encouraging and supporting his men by a supply of fresh troops wherever occasion required, and acquainted him that matters were safe on the left wing, and that Cornelius Servius, whom he had despatched for the purpose, would quickly assail the enemy on all sides with his cavalry. Scarcely had he uttered these words when the Roman horse, pushing forward into the midst of their ranks, threw the line of infantry into confusion, and at the same time closed up the passes by which the Spanish horse were to have advanced to a charge. The Spaniards, therefore, quitting all thoughts of fighting on horseback, dismounted, in order to engage on foot. When the Roman generals perceived the enemy's disorder, that they were confused and terrified, and their battalions wavering, they encouraged, they entreated their men to "push them briskly while they were dismayed, and not to suffer their line to be formed again." The barbarians could not have withstood so furious an onset had not their prince, Indibilis, dismounting with the cavalry, thrown himself into the front of the foremost battalions of infantry. There the contest was supported for some time with great fury. At length those who fought round the king fell, overwhelmed

with darts, and he himself, continuing to make resistance, though ready to expire, was pinned to the earth with a javelin ; on which their troops betook themselves to flight in all parts. The number of the slain was the greater, because the horsemen had not time to remount their horses, being vigorously pressed by the Romans, who did not relax in the least until they had driven them from their camp. There fell on that day, of the Spaniards, thirteen thousand, and about eight hundred were taken. Of the Romans and their allies, little more than two hundred were killed, most of them on the left wing. The Spaniards who were beaten out of the camp, or who had escaped from the battle, at first dispersed about the country, and afterward returned to their respective homes. They were soon after summoned thence to an assembly by Mandonius, where, after complaining heavily of their losses, and severely censuring the advisers of the war, they came to a resolution that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio with proposals to make surrender of themselves. These laid the blame on Indibilis and the other chiefs, most of whom had fallen in battle, offering to deliver up their arms. They received for answer that "their surrender would be accepted, provided they delivered up alive Mandonius and the other promoters of the war ; that if this condition was not complied with, the Romans would lead their armies into the lands of the Illergetians and Ausetanians, and afterward into those of the other states." This answer the ambassadors carried back to the assembly ; and there Mandonius and the other chiefs were seized and delivered up to punishment. Terms of peace were then settled with the states of Spain, who were ordered to pay double taxes for that year, and to supply corn for six months, together with cloaks and vests for the army, hostages being received from about thirty states. This tumultuary rebellion in Spain having been thus suppressed, without any great difficulty, within the space of a few days after its commencement, every warlike operation was directed against Africa.

4. Caius Lælius, having arrived in the night at Hippo Royal, led out his soldiers and marines in regular bodies, at the first light, in order to ravage the country ; and, as the inhabitants had taken no precautions more than if it had been a time of peace, great damage was done, and affrighted messengers filled Carthage with the most violent alarms ; affirming that the Roman fleet had arrived, and that it was commanded by Scipio, of whose passing into Sicily they had already heard. Nor could they tell, with any degree of exactness, while their fears aggravated every circumstance, how many ships they had seen, or what number of men they had landed. At first, therefore, consternation and ter-

ror, afterward melancholy dejection, seized the people's minds, reflecting on the reverse of fortune which had taken place, and lamenting that "they who lately, flushed with success, had their forces lying at the gates of Rome, and after cutting off so many armies of the enemy, had made almost every state in Italy submit to them, either through fear or choice, were now, from the current of success having turned against them, to behold the devastation of Africa, and the siege of Carthage; and when they possessed not by any means such a degree of strength as the Romans had enjoyed to support them under those calamities. The latter had received, from the commonalty of Rome, and from Latium, continually increasing supplies of young men in the room of so many legions destroyed: but the citizens of Carthage were unwarlike, and equally so in the country. Auxiliaries, indeed, they had procured for pay from among the Africans; but they were a faithless race, and veering about with every blast of fortune. Then, as to the kings: Syphax, since his conference with Scipio, was apparently estranged from them: Masinissa had openly renounced their alliance, and was become their most inveterate enemy; so that they had no hope, no support on any side. Neither did Mago raise any commotions on the side of Gaul, nor join his forces to Hannibal's: and Hannibal himself was now declining both in reputation and strength." Their minds, which, in consequence of the late news, had sunk into these desponding reflections, were again recalled, by dread of the impending evils, to consult how they might oppose the present dangers. They resolved to levy soldiers with all haste, both in the city and the country; to hire auxiliaries from the Africans; to strengthen the forts; to collect corn; to prepare weapons and armour; to fit out ships, and send them to Hippo against the Roman fleet. While they were thus employed, news at length arrived that it was Lælius, and not Scipio, who had come over; that his forces were no more than what were sufficient to make plundering incursions; and that the main force of the enemy was still in Sicily. Thus they got time to breathe, and began to despatch embassies to Syphax and the other princes, to endeavour to strengthen their alliances. They also sent to Philip, with a promise of two hundred talents of silver,* on condition that he invaded Sicily or Italy. Others were sent to Italy, to their two generals there, with orders to use every effort to raise the apprehensions of the enemy, so that Scipio might be induced to return home. To Mago they sent not only deputies, but twenty-five ships of war, six thousand

foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and also a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries, whose support might encourage him to advance his army nearer to the city of Rome, and effect a junction with Hannibal. Such were the preparations and plans at Carthage. While Lælius was employed in carrying off immense booty from the country, which he found destitute of arms and protection, Masinissa, roused by the report of the arrival of a Roman fleet, came to him attended by a few horsemen. He complained that "Scipio was dilatory in the business; otherwise before that time he would have brought over his army into Africa, while the Carthaginians were dismayed, and Syphax engaged in wars with his neighbours. That the latter was irresolute and undetermined; and that if time were allowed him to settle his own affairs as he liked, it would be seen that he had no sincere attachment to the Romans." He desired him to "exhort and stimulate Scipio to activity;" assuring him that "he himself, though driven from his kingdom, would join him with no contemptible force, both of horse and foot." He said that "Lælius ought not to make any stay in Africa: that he believed a fleet had sailed from Carthage, which it would not be very safe to encounter in the absence of Scipio." After this discourse Masinissa departed; and next day Lælius set sail for Hippo, having his ships laden with spoil; and returning to Sicily, delivered Masinissa's message to Scipio.

5. About the same time, the ships which had been sent from Carthage to Mago arrived on the coast between the country of the Albingaunian Ligurians and Genoa, near which place the Carthaginian happened at that time to lie with his fleet. On receiving orders from the deputies to collect as great a number of troops as possible, he immediately held a council of the Gauls and Ligurians, (for there was a vast multitude of both nations present,) and told them that he had been sent for the purpose of restoring them to liberty, and, as they themselves saw, aid was now afforded him from home. But with what force, with how great an army the war was to be carried on, was a matter that depended entirely on them. That there were two Roman armies, one in Gaul, another in Etruria; and he was well assured that Spurius Lucretius would join his forces to those of Marcus Livius; wherefore they on their side must arm many thousands, to enable them to oppose two Roman generals and two armies. The Gauls answered, that "they had the strongest inclination to act as he advised; but as they had one Roman army in the heart of their country, and another in the next adjoining province of Etruria, almost within their sight, if it should be publicly known that they gave aid to the Carthaginians,

those two armies would immediately commence hostilities against them on both sides." They requested him to "demand such assistance only as the Gauls could supply in secret. The Ligurians," they said, "were at liberty to determine as they thought fit, the Roman camps being far distant from their lands and cities; besides, it was reasonable that they should arm their youth, and take their part in the war." This the Ligurians did not decline; they only required two months time to make their levies. Mago, having sent home the Gauls, hired soldiers privately in their country; provisions also of all kinds were sent to him secretly by their several states. Marcus Livius led his army of volunteer slaves from Etruria into Gaul, and having joined Lucretius, kept himself in readiness to oppose Mago, if he should move from Liguria towards the city; intending, if the Carthaginian should keep himself quiet under that corner of the Alps, to continue in the same district, near Ariminum, for the protection of Italy.

6. After the return of Caius Lælius from Africa, although Scipio was urged to expedition by the representations of Masinissa, and the soldiers, on seeing the spoil which was landed from the ships, were inflamed with a desire of passing over immediately; yet this more important business was interrupted by one of smaller consideration, the recovery of Locri; which, at the time of the general defection of Italy, had revolted to the Carthaginians. The hope of accomplishing this was kindled by a very trifling circumstance: the operations in Bruttium were rather predatory excursions than a regular war; the Numidians having begun the practice, and the Bruttians readily joining in it, not more from their connexion with the Carthaginians, than from their own natural disposition. At length the Romans themselves, by a kind of contagion, became equally fond of plunder; and, when not prevented by their officers, made excursions into the enemy's country. By these, some Locrensians, who had come out of the city, had been surrounded, and carried off to Rhegium; and among whom were some artisans, who happened to have been often hired by the Carthaginians to work in the citadel of Locri. They were known by the chiefs of the Locrensians, who, having been banished by the opposite faction which had given up the city to Hannibal, had retired to Rhegium. The prisoners, after answering many of their inquiries concerning affairs at home, gave them hopes that if they were ransomed and sent back, they might be able to put the citadel into their hands; telling them that they had their residence in it, and were entirely trusted by the Carthaginians. In consequence of this, the said chiefs, who anxiously longed to return to Locri, inflamed at the same time

with a desire of revenge, immediately ransomed and sent home these men; having first settled the plan for the execution of their project, with the signals which were to be given and observed between them at a distance. They then went themselves to Scipio, to Syracuse, where some of the exiles were, and informing him of the promises made by the prisoners, inspired probable hopes of success. On this the consul despatched Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, military tribunes, (the exiles accompanying them,) with orders to lead three thousand men from Rhegium to Locri, and for Quintus Pleminius, propretor, to give assistance in the business. These set out as commanded, carrying scaling ladders fitted to the height of the citadel, according to their information, and about midnight they gave the signal from the place appointed, to those who were to betray that fortress. These were prepared, and on the watch; and letting down from their side machines made for the purpose, received the Romans as they climbed up in several places at once. They fell on the Carthaginian sentinels, who, not apprehending any danger, were fast asleep; their dying groans were the first sound heard. A sudden consternation followed as the remainder awoke, with a general confusion from being wholly ignorant of the cause of alarm. At length, the greater part of them being roused from sleep, the truth was discovered. And now every one called loudly to arms; that the enemy were in the citadel; that the sentinels were slain. The Romans, being much inferior in number, would certainly have been overpowered, had not a shout, raised by those who were at the outside of the citadel, prevented the garrison from discerning on what side the danger threatened, while the darkness of the night aggravated every fear. The Carthaginians, supposing that the citadel had been surprised and taken, without attempting a contest, fled to another fortress not far distant from this. The inhabitants held the city which lay between these strongholds as a prize for the conquerors, slight engagements happening every day. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison, both of whom increased their forces daily, by calling in aid from the neighbouring places. At length Hannibal prepared to come thither, so that the Romans could not have kept their ground had not the principal part of the Locrensians, exasperated by the pride and avarice of the Carthaginians, inclined to their side.

7. As soon as Scipio was informed that the danger increased at Locri, and that Hannibal was approaching, he began to fear, lest even the garrison might be endangered, as it was not easy to retreat from it: he therefore left the command at Messana to his brother, Lucius Scipio, and

going on board as soon as the tide turned, he let his ships drive with the current. On the other hand, Hannibal sent forward directions from the river Aleces, which is not far from Locri, that his party, at dawn of day, should attack the Romans and Locrensiens with their whole force; in order that, while the attention of all should be turned to the tumult occasioned thereby, he might make an unexpected assault on the opposite side of the city. When, at the first appearance of daylight, he found that the battle was begun, he did not choose to attempt the citadel, in which there was not room, had he even gained it, for such numbers to act, nor had he brought ladders to effect a scalade. Ordering therefore the baggage to be thrown together in a heap, he drew up his army at a little distance from the walls, to terrify the enemy; and while all things necessary for the assault were getting ready, he rode round the city with some Numidian horsemen to find out the properest place at which it might be made. As he advanced near the rampart, the person next to him happened to be struck by a dart from a scorpion: he was so terrified at the danger to which he had been exposed, that he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and fortified his camp far beyond the reach of a weapon. The Roman fleet arrived from Messina at Locri, while some hours of day remained, so that the troops were all landed and brought into the city before sunset. Next day, the Carthaginians, from the citadel, began the fight. Hannibal, now furnished with scaling ladders, and every thing proper for an assault, was coming up to the walls, when on a sudden a gate flying open, the Romans rushed out on him, when he apprehended nothing less than such an encounter, and, as the attack was unexpected, two hundred of his men were slain. The rest Hannibal carried back to the camp, as soon as he understood that the consul was there in person; and sending directions to those who were in the lesser citadel to take care of themselves, he decamped by night. On which, setting fire to the houses there, in order to obstruct any operations of the enemy, they hastened away, as if flying from a pursuit, and overtook the main body of their army at the close of day.

8. When Scipio saw both citadel and camp deserted by the enemy, he summoned the Locrensiens to an assembly, rebuked them severely for their revolt, inflicted punishment on the chief promoters of it, and bestowed their effects on the leaders of the opposite faction, as a reward for their extraordinary fidelity towards the Romans. As to the community of the Locrensiens, he said, "he would neither make any grant to them, nor take any thing from them. Let them send ambassadors to Rome, where they would obtain such a

settlement of their affairs as the senate should judge reasonable. Of this he was confident, that, though they had deserved harsh treatment from the greatly provoked Romans, they would yet enjoy a better state in subjection to them, than under their professed friends the Carthaginians." Then, leaving Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, with the troops which had taken the citadel, to defend the city, he returned to Messana with the forces which he had brought from thence. The Locrensiens after their revolt from the Romans, had been treated by the Carthaginians with such haughtiness and cruelty, that they could now have endured a lesser degree of severity not only with patience, but almost with content. But in all excesses, so much did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, who had commanded their garrison, and the Roman soldiers the Carthaginians, that there seemed to be a greater emulation between them in vices than in arms. Not one of those acts, which render the power of a superior odious to the helpless, was left unpractised on the inhabitants by the commander or his troops: the most shocking insults were offered to their persons, to their children, and to their wives. Nor did their avarice refrain even from the plundering of things sacred; insomuch that not only the temples were violated, but even the treasure of Proserpine was seized, which through all ages had remained untouched, except by Pyrrhus, who made restitution of the spoil, together with a large atonement for his sacrilege. Therefore, as at that time the king's ships, after being wrecked and shattered, had brought nothing safe to land, except the sacred money of the goddess, so now, that same money, by a different kind of vengeance, inspired with madness all those who were polluted by the robbery of the temple, and turned them against each other with hostile fury, general against general, soldier against soldier.

9. Pleminius was governor in chief; that part of the soldiers which he had brought with him from Rhegium was under his own immediate command; the rest under military tribunes. These tribunes, Sergius and Matienus, happened to meet one of Pleminius's soldiers running away with a silver cup, which he had taken by force out of the house of a citizen, the owners pursuing him; on the cup being taken from him by order of the tribunes, at first ill language was used, then ensued clamour; and at length a scuffle between the soldiers of Pleminius and those of the tribunes. The disturbance increasing, as any happened to come up to assist their party, Pleminius's men, being worsted, ran to him in crowds, showing their blood and wounds, with violent outcries and expressions of resentment, and recounting the reproaches that had been thrown on himself; which so in-

flamed him, that rushing out of his house, and calling the tribunes before him, he ordered them to be stripped, and the rods to be prepared: As some time was spent in stripping them, (for they made resistance and implored aid,) on a sudden their own soldiers, rendered bold by their late success, ran together from all parts, as if they had been called to arms against an enemy. On seeing the persons of the tribunes already injured by the rods, they were suddenly seized with such ungovernable rage, that without regard either to his dignity, or even to humanity, after having cruelly abused his lictors, they assaulted the general himself; and having surrounded and separated him from his party, they dreadfully mangled him, cutting off his nose and ears, and leaving him almost without life. Accounts of these transactions being carried to Messana, Scipio, a few days after, sailed over to Locri in a ship of six banks of oars; and having brought Pleminius and the tribunes to trial before him, he acquitted Pleminius, and continued him in the command of the place; adjudged the tribunes guilty, and threw them into chains, that they might be sent to Rome to the senate: he then returned to Messana, and went from thence to Syracuse. Pleminius giving aloose to his rage, because he thought the injury done him had been treated too lightly by Scipio, and that no other person was qualified to rate the penalty in such a case but he who had suffered the wrong, ordered the tribunes to be dragged before him. After having made them undergo the utmost degree of torture which the human body is capable of enduring, he put them to death; and not satisfied with the punishment thus inflicted, he cast them out without burial. The like cruelty he used towards the chiefs of the Locrensiens, who, as he heard, had complained to Scipio of the treatment they had received at his hands. But the extreme severities which he had formerly practised on those allies through lust and avarice, he now multiplied through rage and resentment, bringing infamy and detestation not only on himself, but on the general also.

10. The time of the elections was now drawing near, when a letter was brought to Rome from Publius Licinius the consul, stating that "he and his army were afflicted with a grievous sickness, and that they could not have stood their ground had not the disorder attacked the enemy with the same or even greater violence. As therefore he could not come to the election, he would, if the fathers approved of it, nominate Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, dictator, for the purpose of holding them. That it was for the interest of the state that the army of Quintus Cæcilius should be disbanded, as it could be of no use at present, Hannibal hav-

ing already retired into winter-quarters; and, besides, so powerful was the distemper in that camp, that unless they were speedily separated, not one of them probably would survive." The senate left it with the consul to determine those matters, in such manner as he should judge best for the good of the nation and his own honour. The city was at that time suddenly engaged in a consideration respecting religion. Frequent showers of stones having fallen, the Sibylline books were on that occasion inspected; in which were found certain verses, importing that "whensoever a foreign enemy shall have carried war into the land of Italy, he may be expelled and conquered, if the Idæan Mother be brought from Pessinus to Rome." These verses, discovered by the decemvirs, affected the senate the more, because the ambassadors, who had carried the offering to Delphi, affirmed also that they had performed the sacrifice, and consulted the Pythian Apollo; and that the oracle had answered that the Romans would soon obtain a much greater victory than that which gave them the spoils of which their offering was composed. They considered as a confirmation of the same that Scipio's mind was impelled, as it were, by some presages of an end to the war, when he had so earnestly insisted on having Africa for his province. In order, therefore, that they might the sooner acquire the enjoyment of this triumph, portended to them by the fates, omens, and oracles, they set about considering how the goddess might be transported to Rome.

11. The Romans were not in alliance with any of the states of Asia. However, recollecting that Æsculapius had formerly, on occasion of a pestilence, been brought from Greece before any connexion with that country; that they had already commenced a friendship with King Attalus, on account of their being united in the war against Philip, and that he would probably do any thing in his power to oblige the Roman people, they came to a resolution of sending as ambassadors to him Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, and had commanded in Greece; Marcus Cæcilius Metellus, who had been pretor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been edile; and two who had been questors, Caius Tremellius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. A convoy of five quinqueremes was ordered for them, that they might appear with suitable grandeur in those countries where they wished to procure a respect for the Roman name. The ambassadors in their way to Asia, having landed and gone to Delphi to the oracle, inquired what hopes might be entertained of accomplishing the business on which they had been sent: they were answered, it is said, that "they would obtain what they were in search of by means of King Attalus; and

that when they should have carried the goddess to Rome, they were to take care that the best man in the city was the exerciser of the laws of hospitality towards her." On coming to the king at Pergamus, he received them kindly, conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia, delivered to them the sacred stone, which the natives said was the mother of the gods, and desired them to convey it to Rome. Marcus Valerius Falto, being sent homeward before the rest, brought an account that they were returning with the goddess; and that the best man in Rome must be sought out to pay her the due rites of hospitality. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was, by the consul in Bruttium, nominated dictator, for the purpose of holding the elections, and his army was disbanded. Lucius Veturius Philo was made master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator: the consuls elected were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, the latter absent, being employed in the province of Greece. The pretors were then elected: Tiberius Claudius Nero, Marcus Marcius Rolla, Lucius Scribonius Libo, and Marcus Pomponius Matho. As soon as the elections were finished, the dictator resigned his office. The Roman games were repeated thrice, the plebeian seven times. The curule ediles were Cneius and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus. Lucius held the province of Spain, and being elected while there, continued absent during the whole time of his office. Tiberius Claudius Asellus and Marcus Junius Pennus were plebeian ediles. In that year Marcus Marcellus dedicated the temple of Virtue, at the Capuan gate, seventeen years after it had been vowed by his father at Clastidium in Gaul, during his first consulate. Marcus Æmilius Regillus, flamen of Mars, died that year.

12. During the two last years the affairs of Greece had been neglected; a circumstance which enabled Philip to reduce the Ætolians, thus forsaken by the Romans, on whose aid alone they relied. They were therefore obliged to sue for, and agree to a peace on such terms as the king should impose; but had he not used every effort to hasten the conclusion of it, Publius Sempronius, proconsul, who succeeded Sulpicius in the command, would have fallen on him (while engaged in settling the treaty) with ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of war; no small force in support of an ally. The peace was scarcely concluded, when news was brought to Philip that the Romans had come to Dyrrachium; that the Parthinians, and other neighbouring nations, seeing a prospect of changing their situation, were in motion, and that Dimallum was besieged. The Romans had turned their operations to that side, instead of going forward to the assistance of the Ætolians, whither they

had been sent, provoked at the peace thus made with the king without their concurrence, and contrary to the treaty. On the receipt of this news, Philip, fearing lest some greater commotions might arise among the neighbouring nations and states, proceeded by long marches to Apollonia, to which place Sempronius had retired, after sending his lieutenant-general, Lætorius, with part of the forces and fifteen ships, to Ætolia, that he might take a view of the situation of affairs, and, if possible, annihilate the compact of that people with the Macedonian. Philip laid waste the lands of the Apollonians, and, marching his forces up to the city, offered the Romans battle; they, however, remained quiet, only defending the walls, while his force was insufficient for laying siege to the place. He was yet desirous of concluding a peace with the Romans, as with the Ætolians; or, if that could not be accomplished, of obtaining a truce; and, not choosing to provoke their resentment farther by a new contest, he withdrew into his own kingdom. At the same time the Epirots, wearied by the length of the war, having first tried the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip concerning a general peace; affirming that they were very confident it might be brought about, if he would come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. They easily prevailed on him to pass into Epirus, for the king himself was not averse from the measure. There is a city in Epirus called Phœnice; there Philip, having conferred with Eropus, and Dardas, and Philip, pretors of the Epirots, had afterward a meeting with Publius Sempronius. Amyntander also, king of the Athamanians, was present at the conference, together with other magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnanians. Philip the pretor spoke first, and entreated both the king and the Roman general to put an end to hostilities; and to consider, in a favourable light, the liberty which the Epirots took in mediating between them. Publius Sempronius dictated the terms of peace:—That the Parthinians, and Dimallum, and Bargulum, and Bugenium, should be under the dominion of the Romans; that Atintania should be ceded to the Macedonian, if, on sending ambassadors, he should obtain it from the senate. Peace being agreed to on these terms, the king included in the treaty Prusias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. On the side of the Romans were included the Ilrians, King Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. The conditions were committed to writing, and signed by both parties, a truce being made for two months to allow time for ambassadors to be sent to Rome, in order that the people might ratify the whole. Every one of the tribes assented to

it, because, having turned their efforts against Africa, they wished to be eased for the present from every other enemy. When all was settled, Publius Sempronius went home to Rome to attend to the duties of his consulship.

13. In the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, which was the fifteenth year of the Punic war, [A. U. C. 548. B. C. 204] the provinces were thus decreed : to Cornelius, Etruria, with the old army ; to Sempronius, Bruttium, with power to levy new legions. Of the pretors, to Marcus Marcius fell the city jurisdiction ; to Lucius Seribonius Libo, the foreign, and to the same person, Gaul ; to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sicily ; and to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sardinia. Publius Scipio's command was prolonged for a year, with the same army and the same fleet he then had ; as was also that of Publius Licinius, who was ordered to hold Bruttium, with two legions, as long as the consul should judge it to be for the interest of the state that he should continue in that province. Marcus Livius, and Spurius Lucretius, also held on their commissions, with the two legions with which they had protected Gaul against Mago ; and likewise Cneius Octavius, who, after delivering up Sardinia and the legion to Tiberius Claudius, was, with forty ships of war, to defend the sea-coast, within such limits as the senate should appoint. To Marcus Pomponius, pretor in Sicily, two legions of the forces that had been at Cannæ were decreed ; and it was ordered, that, of the proprætors, (Titus Quintius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus,) the former should hold Tarentum, the latter Capua, as in the former year, each with the old garrison. With respect to Spain, it was referred to the people to determine on the two proconsuls who should be sent thither ; when all the tribes agreed in ordering Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, in quality of proconsuls, to hold the command of that province in the same manner as they had held it the year before. The consuls gave directions for a levy of soldiers, out of whom they might at once form the new legions for Bruttium, and fill up the numbers of the other armies ; for such were the orders of the senate.

14. Africa had not yet been publicly declared a province—the senate, I suppose, keeping the matter secret, lest the Carthaginians should get intelligence of it. The city, however, was filled with sanguine hopes that a decisive blow would soon be struck on that shore, and that there would be an end to the Punic war. From this cause arose abundance of superstitious notions ; and the minds of the people became disposed both to believe and to propagate accounts of prodigies, of which a very great number were reported : “ that two suns had been seen, and that in the night-time light had

suddenly appeared: that at Setia a blaze like that of a torch had been observed, extending from east to west: that at Tarracina, a gate, and at Anagnia, both a gate and several parts of the wall, had been struck by lightning: that in the temple of Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium, a great noise had been heard, succeeded by a dreadful crash." For the expiation of these, there was a supplication of one day's continuance; and nine days were set apart for religious offices, on account of a shower of stones that had fallen. In addition to these matters, they had to consult on the reception to be given to the Idæan mother. For, besides the account brought by Marcus Valerius, (one of the ambassadors who had come before the rest,) that the goddess would soon be in Italy, a late account had been received that she was at Tarracina. The senate also was engaged in the decision of a question of no trifling importance—who was the best man in the city? A well-grounded preference in that point, every one would certainly value much more highly than any honours which could be conferred by the votes either of the senate or the people. They gave their judgment that Publius Scipio, son of Cneius who had fallen in Spain, (a youth who had not yet obtained a questorship,) was the best of all the good men in Rome. If the authors who wrote in the times nearest to this transaction, and when the memory of it was fresh, had mentioned the particular merits which induced them to make this determination, I should gladly have handed down the information to posterity; but I will not obtrude any opinion of my own, formed, as it must be, on conjecture, when relative to a matter buried in the obscurity of remote antiquity. Publius Cornelius was accordingly ordered to repair to Ostia, to meet the goddess, attended by all the matrons; to receive her himself from the ship, and then to deliver her to the said matrons, to be transported to the city. Scipio, falling down the river Tiber, as had been ordered, received the goddess from the priests, and conveyed her to the land. She was there received by the above-mentioned women, and who were the principal of the city, among whom the name of Claudia Quinta alone has been distinguished; for her character, as is said, having at one time been dubious, the share which she had in this solemn act of religion rendered her chastity no longer questionable, and she became illustrious among posterity. These, relieving each other in succession, carried this saving divinity into the temple of Victory, on the palatine hill, while all the city poured out to meet her, censers being placed before the doors, wherever the procession passed, and incense burned in them; all praying that she would enter the city with good-will, and a favourable disposition. This happened on the day preceding the ides of

April; and which was appointed a festival. The people in crowds carried presents to the goddess, and there was a religious feast ordained, with games called Megalesian.

15. When they came to consider of the supplies for the legions that were in the provinces, it was suggested by certain of the senators that there were some things which, however they might have been tolerated in times of distress, ought not to be any longer endured; since by the favour of the gods, they had been delivered from the apprehension of danger. The attention of the fathers being roused, they proceeded to mention, that the twelve Latine colonies which had refused a supply of soldiers to Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius, when consuls, enjoyed now, for almost the sixth year, an immunity from serving in war, as if it had been a privilege granted to do them honour, and on account of their good conduct; while the worthy and dutiful allies, in return for their fidelity and obedience, had been exhausted by continual levies through the course of many years. These words at once called to the recollection of the senate a matter which had been almost forgotten, and at the same time roused their resentment; so that before they suffered the consuls to proceed on any other business, they decreed, that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates, and ten principal inhabitants from each of the following colonies, so privileged: Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carseoli, Sara, Suessa, Circeæ, Narnia, and Interamna; and should give them orders, that whatever was the greatest number of soldiers which they had separately furnished to the Roman people, at any time, since the enemy came into Italy, they should now provide to the amount of twice that number of footmen, and one hundred and twenty horsemen: and if any of them were unable to produce so many horsemen, that then they should be allowed to bring three footmen, instead of each horseman. That both horsemen and footmen should be chosen from among the wealthiest orders, and should be sent wherever there was occasion for a supply out of Italy. That if any of them should refuse to comply with this requisition, it was their pleasure that the magistrates and deputies of that colony should be detained; and if they demanded an audience of the senate, that it should not be granted them until they had obeyed those injunctions; and farther, that an annual tax of one ass on every thousand which they possessed, should be imposed on them. That a survey of persons and estates should be made in those colonies, according to a regulation of the Roman censors, which should be the same that was directed for the Roman people; and a return of this made at Rome by the censors of the said colonies on their oaths,

and before they went out of office." The magistrates and principal inhabitants of the places in question being summoned to Rome, in pursuance of this decree of the senate, and receiving the commands of the consuls respecting the soldiers and the tax, they all declared violently against them, exclaiming, "that it was impossible for them to raise such a number of soldiers; they could scarcely accomplish it if their whole property were to be entreated by the regulation. They begged and entreated that they might be allowed to appear before the senate, and implore a mitigation of their sentence. They had been guilty of no crime that deserved to be punished by their ruin: but, even if they were to be ruined, neither their own guilt, nor the resentment of the Roman people, could make them furnish a greater number of soldiers than they actually had." The consuls, unmoved, ordered the deputies to remain at Rome, and the magistrates to go home to make the levies; assuring them, that "they should have no audience of the senate until they had strictly fulfilled its orders." Their hopes of obtaining an audience being thus cut off, the levies were completed without difficulty; the number of young men in those colonies being much increased by their having been so long exempt from service.

16. Another affair also, and which had been almost as long passed over in silence, was proposed for consideration by Marcus Valerius Lævinus; who said, "it was highly reasonable that the several sums of money which had been contributed by private persons, when Marcus Claudius and himself were consuls, should now be repaid. That no one ought to be surprised at his thus appearing in an affair wherein the public faith was pledged; for besides that in some respect it peculiarly concerned the consul of that year in which the money had been advanced, he had also been the first adviser of the same, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, and the inability of the people to pay taxes." The senate were well pleased at being reminded of this matter, and the consuls being ordered to propose the question, decreed, that "money should be discharged in three payments: that the present consuls should make the first payment immediately; and that the other two instalments should be made by the third and fifth consuls from that time." All their cares soon after gave place to one alone: when, on the arrival of ambassadors, they were made acquainted with the grievances of the Locrensiens, of which until that day they had been ignorant; grievances which greatly disturbed the people, who were, however; less provoked at the villany of Quintus Pleminius, than at the partiality or negligence shown in the business by Scipio. As the

consuls were sitting in the comitium, ten ambassadors of the Locrensians, in squalid mourning apparel, holding out branches of olive, (the badges of suppliants,) according to the Grecian custom, prostrated themselves on the ground before the tribunal with lamentable cries. On inquiring who they were, they answered, "that they were Locrensians, who had experienced such treatment from Quintus Pleminius, the lieutenant-general, and his soldiers, as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to suffer; and that they requested the favour of being admitted to an audience of the senate, that they might represent to them their deplorable situation."

17. An audience being granted, the eldest of them spoke to this effect: "Conscript fathers, I know that it would tend exceedingly to increase the regard which you may think proper to afford to our complaints, if you were fully informed of the manner in which Locri was betrayed to Hannibal, and also by what means the Carthaginian garrison was expelled, and the town re-established under your dominion: for if the people, generally taken, were entirely clear of the guilt of the revolt, and if it also appeared that our return to obedience, and to acknowledgment of your authority, was not only voluntary, but effected by our own co-operation and courage, you would see the greater indignation at such grievous and unmerited injuries being inflicted on good and faithful allies, by your lieutenant-general and his soldiers. But I think it better to defer the subject of our changes of party to another time; and that for two reasons: first, that it may be discussed in the presence of Publius Scipio, who regained possession of Locri, and was a witness of our behaviour, whether good or bad; and secondly, that, let our conduct have been what it may, we ought not to have suffered the evils which have been poured on us. We cannot, conscript fathers, disown, that while we had a Carthaginian garrison, we suffered many cruelties and indignities, as well from Hamilcar the commander there, as from the Numidians and Africans. But what are these, when compared with what we this day endure? I request, conscript fathers, that you will hear, without being offended, what I unwillingly mention. All mankind are in suspense whether they are to see you or the Carthaginians sovereigns of the world. Now, if an estimation were to be formed of the Roman and Carthaginian governments from the treatment which we of Locri have borne on the one hand, and from that which on the other we at this present time bear, without remission, from your garrison, there is no one who would not rather choose Africans than Romans for his masters. Yet, observe what dispositions the Locrensians have, notwithstanding, shown towards

you. When we were ill treated by the Carthaginians in a much less degree, we had recourse to your general for redress. Now, when we suffer from your garrison worse than hostile cruelty, we have carried our complaints to no other but to you. Conscript fathers, you will consider our desperate situation, or we are left without any resource for which we can even pray to the immortal gods. Quintus Pleni-
 ninus, lieutenant-general, was sent with a body of troops to recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and was left with those troops to garrison the town. In this your officer, conscript fathers, (the extremity of our miseries gives me spirit to speak freely,) there is nothing of a man but the figure and appearance; nor of a Roman citizen, but the features, the dress, and the sound of the Latine language. He is a pestilent and savage monster; such as fables tell us formerly lay on each side of the strait which divides us from Sicily, causing the destruction of mariners. If however he had been content with practising his own atrocities alone against us your allies, that one gulf, however deep, we should patiently have filled up. As the case at present stands, he has made every one of your centurions and soldiers a Pleni-
 ninus; so much does he wish to render licentiousness and wickedness universal. All rob, spoil, beat, wound, slay; ravish both matrons and virgins; while free-born children are torn from the embraces of their parents. Our city is every day stormed, every day plundered; all parts of it resound with the lamentations of women and children, who are seized and dragged away. Whoever knows our sufferings cannot but be surprised that we still subsist under them, and that our persecutors are not yet wearied. It is neither in my power to recapitulate, nor ought you to be troubled with hearing the particulars of our calamities; I shall comprise them in general terms. I affirm that there is not one house, that there is not one man in Locri, exempt from injury; I affirm that there is no instance of cruelty, lust, or avarice, which has not been put in practice against every one capable of being the object of it. It is scarcely possible to estimate which was the more lamentable disaster to the city, its being taken in war by the enemy, or its being crushed under the violence and arms of a tyrant sent to protect it, yet bent on its destruction. Every evil, conscript fathers, which cities taken by storm suffer, we have suffered, and still continue to suffer, without remission. Every kind of barbarity which the most merciless and unreasonable tyrants practise against their oppressed countrymen, has Pleni-
 ninus practised against us, our children, and our wives.

18. "There is one thing, conscript fathers, concerning which we are obliged, by the regard to religion impressed,

on our minds, both to make a particular complaint, and to express our wish that you may think proper so to attend to the same as to free your state from any guilt resulting from it; for we have seen with what due solemnity you not only worship your own but even receive foreign deities. We have a temple of Proserpine of extraordinary sanctity, of which probably some account may have reached you during the war with Pyrrhus; for in his return from Sicily, sailing near Locri with his fleet, among other violent outrages against our city, on account of our fidelity to you, he plundered the treasures of Proserpine, which to that day had ever remained untouched; and then, putting the money on board his ships, he left the land. What was then the result, conscript fathers? His fleet was next day shattered by a most furious tempest, and all the vessels which carried the sacred treasures were thrown on our coasts. By the greatness of this calamity, that haughty king, being at length convinced that there were gods, ordered all the money to be searched for, collected, and carried back to the treasury of Proserpine. Never afterward was he successful in any one instance; but after being driven out of Italy, and having entered Argos inconsiderately by night, he fell by an ignoble hand; he met a dishonourable death. Although your lieutenant-general and military tribunes had heard these and many other such things, (which were not contrived for the purpose of increasing respect to the deity, but presented to the observation of our ancestors and selves, through the immediate influence of the goddess,) yet, notwithstanding this, I say, they dared to lay their impious hands on the treasures, till then untouched, except in the instance of Pyrrhus, and with the sacrilegious spoil to pollute themselves, their families, and your armies; whose service, we beseech you, conscript fathers, for you own sakes, for your honour's sake, not to employ in any business, either in Italy or in Africa, until you have first expiated their guilt, lest they atone for the crimes which they have committed, not by their own blood merely, but by some public disaster; although, even at present, the anger of the goddess does not fail to show itself against both your officers and men. They have already, more than once, engaged each other in pitched battles. Pleminius was leader of one party, the two military tribunes of the other; never did they use their weapons with more eagerness against the Carthaginians than on this occasion; and, by their mad proceedings, they would have afforded Hannibal an opportunity of recovering the possession of Locri, had not Scipio, whom we sent for, arrived in time to prevent it. It may be said, perhaps, that the subalterns who had been polluted by the sacrilege, were alone agitated with

phrensy, and that no influence of the goddess appeared in punishing the officers; whereas, in fact, it has been here most conspicuous. The tribunes were scourged with rods by the lieutenant-general; afterward the lieutenant-general was treacherously seized by the tribunes, and, his whole body being mangled, and his nose and ears cut off, he was left apparently lifeless. Recovering from his wounds, he threw the military tribunes into chains, scourged them, made them suffer every kind of torture usually inflicted only on slaves, put them to a cruel death, and then prohibited them the rites of burial. Such penalties has the goddess exacted from the plunderers of her temple; nor will she desist from harassing them with every kind of phrensy until the sacred money shall be replaced in the treasury. Our ancestors, being engaged in a grievous war with the Crotonians, intended, because this temple lies without the walls, to remove the money therein deposited into the city; when a voice was heard by night, from the shrine, commanding them to desist; for that the goddess would defend her own treasures. This admonition arrested their hands; yet, when intending to surround the temple with a wall, and which they had raised to some height, it suddenly fell down in ruins. Thus it is seen that not only now, but at several other times, the goddess has either secured her own habitation—her sacred fane—or has exacted heavy atonements from those who dared to violate it. Our injuries she cannot avenge; conscript fathers, it can alone be done by you. To you, and to your honour, we fly, and, as suppliants, implore relief. For whether you suffer Locri to continue under the present lieutenant-general and garrison, or deliver our countrymen up to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to be punished as their anger may direct, it will be equally fatal to them. We do not require that you should, at once, give credit to us, and to charges made in the general's absence, or without allowing him to make his defence: let him come, let him hear them in person; let him clear himself of them, if he can. In fine, if there be any act of iniquity which one man can commit against others, that he has not committed against us, we consent, if it be possible, again to endure our griefs, and that he shall be acquitted of all guilt towards both gods and men."

19. When the ambassadors had concluded their discourse, being asked by Quintus Fabius whether they had laid those complaints before Publius Scipio, they answered, that "an embassy had been sent to him, but that he was taken up with the preparations for the war; and that, either before this time he had passed over into Africa, or would do so in a very few days. That they had experienced what great interest the

lieutenant-general had with the commander, when, after hearing the cause between him and the tribunes, he threw the tribunes into chains, and left the lieutenant-general, who was equally guilty, or rather more so, in possession of the same power as before." The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the principal senators inveighed severely not only against Pleminius, but against Scipio also; but, above all, Quintus Fabius, who asserted that "he was born for the corruption of military discipline; that, through such conduct, he had lost, in Spain, nearly as many men by mutiny as in war; that he both indulged the licentiousness of the soldiers, and let his own passions loose against them, in a manner customary only among foreigners and kings." To this speech he added a resolution equally harsh: that "they should pass a vote that Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, be brought to Rome, and stand his trial in chains; and that, if the complaints of the Locrensiens should appear to be well founded, he should be put to death in prison, and his effects confiscated: that Publius Scipio, on account of his having gone out of his province without an order of the senate, should be recalled; and that application should be made to the tribunes of the commons to take the sense of the people on the abrogating of his commission; that the Locrensiens should be called in, and receive this answer from the senate: that, as to the injuries stated to have been done to them, neither the senate nor the people of Rome approved of their being done: that they should be complimented with the appellations of worthy men, allies, and friends: that their children, their wives, and whatever else had been taken from them by violence, should be restored: that a search should be made for the entire money which had been carried off from the temple of Proserpine, and that double the sum should be replaced in the treasury: that a solemn expiation should be performed, the college of pontiffs being first consulted on this question: inasmuch as the sacred treasures had been removed and violated, what atonements, to what gods, and with what victims, should they be made? that the soldiers who were at Locri should be all transported into Sicily; and that four cohorts of allies of the Latine confederacy should be brought to Locri for a garrison." The collecting of the votes could not be finished that day, the zeal of the parties for and against Scipio rising to a great degree of warmth; for, besides the crime of Pleminius and the calamities of the Locrensiens, the general's own manner of living was represented as so far from being Roman, that it was not even military; that "he walked in the public place, having a cloak and slippers; that he gave much of his time to books of entertainment, and the schools of exercise; and that his

whole corps of officers, with equal indolence and effeminacy, indulged in all the pleasures of Syracuse; that Carthage was quite forgotten among them; that the whole army, (debauched and licentious, like that at Sucro in Spain, or that now at Locri,) was more formidable to the allies than to the enemy."

20. These representations were compounded of a mixture of truth and falsehood, yet carrying an appearance of the former. The opinion of Quintus Metellus however prevailed; who, concurring with Maximus in the other points, dissented from him in that concerning Scipio; affirming that "it would be the height of inconsistency, if the person whom, when but a youth, the state had some time since made choice of as the only commander capable of recovering Spain; whom, after he had actually recovered it, they had elected consul for the purpose of putting an end to the Punic war, and whom they conceived able to draw away Hannibal from Italy, and even to subdue Africa:—that this man, as if he were Quintus Pleminius, should be in a manner condemned without a trial, and suddenly recalled from his province, he repeated, were highly inconsistent. The abominable facts which the Locrensiens complain of, are not alleged to have been committed when Scipio was present; nor can any thing else be laid to his charge than the having been tender of the lieutenant-general, either through good nature or respect: that it was his opinion that Marcus Pomponius, the pretor, to whose lot Sicily had fallen, should, within the next three days, repair to his province: that the consuls should choose out of the senate ten deputies, whom they should send along with the pretor, together with two tribunes of the people and an edile; and that, with the assistance of this council, the pretor should make an inquiry into the affair. If it should be found that the oppressions of the Locrensiens arose from the orders or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, that they should then command him to quit the province. If Publius Scipio should have already passed over into Africa, that in such case the tribunes of the commons and the edile, with two of the deputies whom the pretor should judge fittest, should immediately proceed thither: the tribunes and the edile to bring back Scipio from thence; the deputies to command the forces until a new general should be appointed. But if Marcus Pomponius and the ten deputies should discover that those severities had not been committed, either by the order or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, that then Scipio should remain with the army, and carry on the war as he had proposed." A decree of the senate having passed to this effect, application was made to the tribunes of the commons to settle among them-

selves, or choose by lot, which two were to go with the pretor and deputies. The college of pontiffs were consulted about the expiations to be performed on account of the spoliation in the temple of Proserpine at Locri. Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Cincius Alimentus, tribunes of the commons, accompanied the pretor and the ten deputies; with whom an edile of the commons was also sent. The instructions were, that should Scipio (whether in Sicily or Africa) refuse to obey the orders of the pretor, the tribunes were to give directions to the edile to apprehend and bring him home, under the authority of their inviolable office. It was intended that they should proceed first to Locri, and then to Messina.

31. Concerning Pleminius, there are two different accounts: some say, that on hearing what had passed at Rome, he was going to Naples into exile, when he happened to meet Quintus Metellus, one of the deputies, and was by him forcibly carried back to Rhegium; others, that Scipio himself had sent a lieutenant-general, with thirty of the most distinguished among the cavalry, to throw Pleminius into chains, and also the principals in the mutiny. All these, however, either by the orders of Scipio before, or of the pretor now, were given in charge to the inhabitants of Rhegium, to be kept in custody. The pretor and deputies proceeding to Locri, applied their first care, as they had been directed, to the business respecting religion; and causing search to be made for all the sacred money, appropriated both by Pleminius and the soldiers, they replaced it in the treasury, together with the sum which they had brought with them, performing a solemn expiation. This done, the pretor calling the soldiers together, ordered them to carry the standards out of the city, and to form a camp in the plain; denouncing, by proclamation, severe penalties against any one who should either stay behind, or carry out with him any thing that was not his own property; at the same time authorizing the Locrensiens to seize whatever belonged to themselves, and to search for such of their effects as were concealed; above all, insisting that the freedom of their persons should be instantly admitted, with threats of heavy punishment against any one who should disobey this injunction. He then held an assembly of the Locrensiens, and told them that "the Roman people, and the senate, restored to them their liberty and their laws. That if any one meant to bring a charge against Pleminius, or any other person, he must follow them to Rhegium: or if their state had to prefer a complaint against Publius Scipio, as being the author of those crimes which had been perpetrated at Locri against gods and men, that they should then send deputies to Rhegium also, and that he, with

the council, would there hear their cause." The Locrensi-ans returned thanks to the pretor, to the deputies, and to the senate and people of Rome; declaring "that they would prosecute Pleminius: that, as to Scipio, although he had shown but little feeling for the injuries done them, yet he was such a man as they would much rather have for their friend than their enemy: that they firmly believed the many shocking cruelties which had been practised were neither by the orders nor with the approbation of Publius Scipio, who had only given too much credit to Pleminius, too little to them: that some men's natural disposition was such, that they showed rather a dislike to the commission of faults, than sufficient resolution to punish them, when committed." This relieved the pretor and council from a heavy burden, that of inquiring into the conduct of Scipio. They condemned Pleminius, with thirty-two others, whom they sent in chains to Rome; and then proceeded to Scipio, that, witnessing all matters, they might carry certain information to Rome as to the truth of those reports which had been propagated concerning his manner of living, inactivity, and total relaxation of military discipline.

22. While they were on their way to Syracuse, Scipio prepared, not words, but facts, to clear himself of any charges in the remission of duty. He ordered all the troops to assemble in that city, and the fleet to be got in readiness, as if, on that day, there was to be an engagement with the Carthaginians both on land and sea. On the arrival of the commissioners, he gave them a kind reception and entertainment, and next day showed them both the land and naval forces, not only marshalled in exact order, but the former performing their evolutions, and the fleet in the harbour exhibiting a representation of a naval combat. The pretor and deputies were then led round to take a view of the armories, granaries, and other warlike preparations: and with such admiration were they struck, of each in particular, and of the whole together, as to become thoroughly persuaded that the Carthaginians would be vanquished by that general and that army, or by no other. They desired him to set out on his voyage, with the blessing of the gods; and to fulfil, as soon as possible, the hopes of the Roman people,—those hopes which they had conceived on that day, when all the centuries concurred in naming him first consul: saying this, they left the place, and with as much joy as if they were to carry to Rome the news of a victory, not of a grand preparation for war. Pleminius, and those who were in the same circumstances with him, were, on their arrival at Rome, immediately thrown into prison. When first produced by the tribunes, the people found no room for mercy, prepossessed as

they were, by the calamities of the Locrensiensians. However, after having been repeatedly brought forward, and the odium abating through length of time, the public resentment was softened; while the maimed condition of Pleminius, and the respect they had for Scipio, even in his absence, conciliated for them some degree of favour. Nevertheless, Pleminius died in confinement, and before his trial was finished. Clodius Licinius, in the third book of his Roman history, relates, indeed, that this Pleminius, during the votive games, which Africanus, in his second consulate, exhibited at Rome, made an attempt, by means of some persons whom he had bribed, to set fire to the city in several places, that he might have an opportunity of breaking the prison, and making his escape; and that on the discovery of his wicked design, he was committed to the dungeon by order of the senate. Concerning Scipio, there were no proceedings but in the senate, where the encomiums made by all the deputies and the tribunes on that general, his fleet, and army, induced them to vote that he should pass over into Africa as soon as possible; with liberty to make his own choice from out the forces then in Sicily, which to carry with him, and which to leave for the defence of the province.

23. During these transactions at Rome, the Carthaginians, on their side, passed the winter in extreme anxiety. They fixed beacons on every promontory; kept scouts in incessant motion, every messenger filling them with terror. They had acquired, however, an advantage of no small moment towards the defence of Africa,—an alliance with King Syphax; an assistance, on which they supposed the Romans to have relied, and as being their great inducement to set foot on Africa. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was not only connected with the king in hospitality, (as has been mentioned above, when he and Scipio happened to come to him at the same time from Spain;) but mention had been also made of an affinity to be contracted between them, by the king marrying Hasdrubal's daughter. Hasdrubal had gone with a design of completing this business, and fixing a time for the nuptials, the damsel being now marriageable; and finding him inflamed with love, (for the Numidians are, beyond all other barbarians, inclined to amorous pleasures,) he sent for her from Carthage, and hastened the wedding. Among other instances of mutual regard and affection, and in order that their private connexion might be cemented by a public one, an alliance between the king and the people of Carthage was ratified by oath, and their faith reciprocally pledged, that they would have the same friends and enemies. But Hasdrubal remembered that the king had previously entered into a league with Scipio, and knowing how unsteady and

changeable were the minds of the barbarians, he dreaded lest, if Scipio once came into Africa, that match might prove a slender tie; he therefore seized the opportunity while the warmth of the Numidian's new passion was at the highest, and calling to his aid the blandishments of his daughter, prevailed on him to send ambassadors into Sicily to Scipio, and by them to warn him, "not to be induced, by a reliance on his former promises, to pass over into Africa, for that he was now united to the people of Carthage, both by his marriage with a citizen of that state, daughter of Hasdrubal, whom he had seen entertained in his house, and also by a public treaty. He recommended it strongly to the Romans to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, at a distance from Africa, as they had hitherto done; lest he might be under a necessity of interfering in their disputes, and of joining one or the other, while he wished to decline taking part with either. If Scipio should enter Africa, and advance his army towards Carthage, he must then of necessity fight, as well in defence of the country wherein he himself was born, as in support of the native city of his spouse, her parent, and household gods."

24. The ambassadors charged with these despatches from the king to Scipio, had an interview with him at Syracuse. Scipio, though disappointed in a matter of the utmost consequence to the success of his affairs in Africa, and in the high expectations which he had entertained from that quarter, sent back the ambassadors speedily, before their business should become publicly known, and gave them a letter for the king, in which he conjured him, in the most forcible terms, not "to violate the laws of hospitality; nor the alliance which he had concluded with the Roman people; nor justice, nor faith (their right hands pledged;) nor act in any thing offensive to the gods, the witnesses and guarantees of compacts." The coming of the Numidians was generally known, for they had walked about the city, and had been frequently at the pretorium; so that it was feared, should the subject of their embassy transpire, that the troops might become alarmed at the prospect of being to fight against Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio judged it prudent therefore to divert their thoughts from the truth, by prepossessing them with false informations. Calling them to an assembly, he said, "that there was no room for longer delay: that the kings, their allies, pressed him to pass over to Africa immediately. That Masinissa had before come in person to Lælius, complaining of time being wasted in inactivity; and that Syphax now sent despatches to the like effect; requiring, that either the troops should at length be carried over to Africa, or if the plan was changed, that he

should be made acquainted with it, in order that he might adopt such measures as would be convenient to himself and beneficial to his kingdom. Since, therefore, every preparation had been made, and as the business admitted no longer hesitation, it was his intention, after bringing over the fleet to Lilybæum, and assembling at that place all the forces of horse and foot, to pass into Africa, with the favour of the gods, the first day on which the ships could sail." He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius, to come to that port, in order that they might consult together as to what particular legions, and what number of men, he should carry to Africa; with orders also to all the sea-coast that the ships of burden should be all seized, and brought thither. When the troops and vessels had assembled at Lilybæum, neither could the city contain the men, nor the harbour the ships; and such an ardent desire to pass into Africa possessed them all, that they appeared, not as if going to be employed in war, but in receiving the rewards of victory already secured: especially those of the army of Cannæ; for they expected, by exerting themselves on the present occasion, and under the then general, to put an end to their ignominious service. Scipio showed not the least inclination to reject soldiers of that description, knowing that the misfortune at Cannæ had not arisen from their want of spirit, and that, besides, there were none in the Roman army who had served so long, or who had acquired so much experience, both in a variety of battles, and in attacking towns. The legions of Cannæ were the fifth and sixth. After giving notice that he would carry these to Africa, he reviewed them, man by man, and leaving behind such as he thought unfit for the service, he substituted in their places those whom he had brought from Italy, and filled up those legions in such a manner, that each contained six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; the horse and foot of the allies, of the Latine confederacy, he chose also out of the army of Cannæ.

25. Authors differ widely with regard to the number of men carried over to Africa. In one I find ten thousand foot, and two thousand two hundred horse; in another sixteen thousand foot, and one thousand six hundred horse; while others augment them more than half, and assert that thirty-five thousand horse and foot were put on board the ships. Some have not stated the numbers; and among these, as the matter is uncertain, I choose to place myself. Cœlius, indeed, avoids specifying the same; but he magnifies to an immense extent the idea that he gives of their multitude: he tells us that birds fell to the ground, stunned by the shouts of the soldiers; and that it might have been well imagined that there was not a man left behind either in Italy or in Si-

etty. Scipio took on himself the charge of embarking the men in a regular manner. The seamen were kept in order on board the ships by Caius Lælius, who had the command of the fleet. The care of shipping the stores was allotted to Marcus Pomponius, the pretor. A quantity of food sufficient for forty-five days was put on board; as much of it ready-dressed as would serve for fifteen days. When all were embarked, the general sent round boats to bring the pilots and masters, with two soldiers out of each ship, to the forum, to receive orders. Being there assembled, he first inquired whether they had put water on board for men and cattle, and for as many days as they had corn: they answered, that there was water on board for forty-five days. He then charged the soldiers that, attentive to their duty, they should behave themselves quietly, so that the seamen might perform their business without interruption; informed them that he and Lucius Scipio, with twenty ships of war, would protect the transports on the right division; and Caius Lælius, commander of the fleet, and Marcus Porcius Cato, the questor, with the same number, those on the left;—that the ships of war would carry each a single light, the transports two; that the signal by night, on board the ship of the commander-in-chief, would consist of three lights. The pilots had orders to steer to Emporium, where the land is remarkably fertile; consequently the country abounds with plenty of all things. The inhabitants are unwarlike, as is generally the case where the soil is rich; and Scipio supposed that they might be overpowered before succour could arrive from Carthage. Having issued these orders, he commanded them to return to their ships, and on the signal being given next day, with the favour of the gods, to set sail.

26. Many Roman fleets had sailed from Sicily, and from that same harbour; but never did any equipment afford so grand a spectacle, either in the present war, (which was not surprising, as most of these fleets had only gone in quest of plunder,) or even in any former one. And yet his force could not be fully estimated from a view of the present armament, for not only two consuls with their armies had passed from thence before, but there had been almost as many war-vessels in their fleets as there were transports attending Scipio. These, it is true, were not less than four hundred, but of ships of battle he had only fifty. But the Romans had more alarming apprehensions from one war than from the other; from the second, than from the former; as well by reason of its being waged in Italy, as of the dreadful destruction of so many armies, together with their commanders.—Scipio, however, had attracted an extraordinary degree of attention. He had acquired a high degree of renown, partly

by his bravery, partly by the happy success which had attended it, and which gave room to expect from him the most glorious achievements. Besides, the very object proposed, of passing into the enemy's country, which had not been attempted by any general during that war, strongly roused men's feelings; for he had on all occasions publicly declared that his intention was to draw Hannibal away from Italy, to transfer the war to Africa, and to finish it there. Not only the whole of the inhabitants of Lilybæum crowded together to the harbour to get a view of them, but also deputies from all parts of Sicily; who came for the purpose of showing that mark of respect, not only to Scipio, but to Marcus Pomponius, pretor of the province. The legions likewise, which were to be left on the island, quitted their quarters in compliment to their fellow-soldiers. In a word, the fleet exhibited a grand prospect to those on land, and the land to those on ship-board, it being covered all round with the admiring multitude.

27. As soon as day appeared, a herald having commanded silence, Scipio, in the admiral's ship, spoke thus: "Ye gods and goddesses, who preside over the seas and lands, I pray and beseech you that whatever affairs have been carried on, or shall hereafter be carried on, during my command, may all conduce to the happiness of myself, the state, and people of Rome; of the allies, and the Latine confederates, who follow my party, command, and auspices, and those of the Roman people on sea, on land, and on rivers. Lend your favourable aid to all those measures, and farther them by happy advancements; bring us all home, unhurt and victorious, decorated with spoils, laden with booty, and exulting in triumph. Grant us the opportunity of taking vengeance on our foes; and whatever attempts the Carthaginian people have made to injure our state, grant to me, and to the Roman people, power to retaliate the same evils on the state of Carthage." After these prayers, he threw into the sea, according to custom, the raw entrails of a victim which had been slain, and gave by a trumpet the signal for sailing. The wind being favourable and blowing fresh, when they set sail, they were soon carried out of sight of land; but about noon a fog arose, which made it difficult to keep the ships from running foul of each other. As they advanced into the open sea, the wind abated; during the following night the haziness continued, but at the rising of the sun it was dispersed, and the wind freshened. The pilot soon after told Scipio that "Africa was not above five miles distant; that he saw the promontory of Mercury; and that if he gave orders to steer thither, the whole fleet would be immediately in harbour." As soon as Scipio came within sight of land,

he prayed to the gods that his seeing Africa might be happy for the state, and for himself: he then gave orders to make sail for another landing-place. They proceeded with the same wind; but a fog arising, as on the day before, hid the land from their sight; and increasing as the night came on, involved every object in obscurity. They therefore cast anchor, lest the ships should run foul of each other, or be driven on shore. At daybreak, however, the wind sprung up, dispersed the fog, and discovered the coast of Africa.—Scipio, inquiring the name of the nearest promontory, and being told that it was called Cape Fair, said, “the omen is pleasing; steer your ships thither.” The fleet ran down accordingly, and all the forces were disembarked. I am inclined to follow the accounts of very many Greek and Latin authors; which are, that the voyage was prosperous, and without danger or confusion. Cœlius alone (except that he does not represent the ships as being lost) gives a narration of every other dreadful occurrence, which could be occasioned by wind or waves; that, at last, the fleet was driven from Africa to the island Ægimurus; that from thence, with difficulty, they recovered their course; and that the men had, without orders from the general, escaped to land in boats from the almost foundering vessels, just, in short, as from a shipwreck, without arms and in the utmost disorder.

28. The troops being landed, formed their camp on the nearest rising grounds. The sight of the fleet, with the bustle of landing, spread consternation and terror, not only through the parts adjoining the sea, but even among the cities: for not only crowds of women and children, mixing with the bands of men, filled up all the roads, but the country people also drove their cattle before them, so that it seemed as if they were all at once forsaking Africa. Those caused much greater terror in the cities than they had felt themselves, particularly at Carthage, where the tumult was almost as great as though the enemy were at its gates; for, since the consulate of Marcus Attilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, a space of nearly fifty years, they had seen no Roman army, except those predatory squadrons, from which some troops had made descents on the adjoining coast, seizing whatever chance threw in their way, but who had always made a hasty retreat to their ships, and before the peasantry had taken the alarm: for this reason, the consternation and panic was now the greater; and, in fact, they had neither a powerful army at home, nor a general whom they could oppose to the invaders. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was by far the first person in the city, not only in character and wealth, but also by reason of his affinity with the king.—

They considered however that he had been vanquished, and put to flight in several battles in Spain, by this same Scipio; and that, as a commander, he was no more to be equalled with the Roman general, than their tumultuary forces were with the Roman army. The people were therefore called to arms, as though Scipio were ready to attack the city; the gates were hastily shut, armed men placed on the walls, and watches and outposts fixed, together with a regular guard, during the following night. Next day five hundred horsemen, who were despatched to gain intelligence, and to disturb the enemy on their landing, fell in with the advanced guards of the Romans: for Scipio, having sent his fleet to Utica, and proceeded to some distance from the coast, had seized on the next high grounds, placing outposts of cavalry in proper places, and sending others into the country to plunder.

29. These, having met with the Carthaginian horsemen, slew a small number of them in fight, and the greater part of the remainder as they pursued them flying; among whom was Hanno their commander, a young man of distinction. Scipio not only laid waste the country round, but captured also a very wealthy city which lay near him; in which, besides other things which were immediately put on board the transports and sent to Sicily, there were taken, of freemen and slaves, not less than eight thousand. But what gave the Romans the greatest joy on the commencement of their operations was, the arrival of Masinissa, who came, according to some, with no more than two hundred horsemen; but most authors say with two thousand. Now, as he was by far the greatest of all the kings of that age, and performed the most important services to the Roman state, it appears worth while to digress a little, in order to relate the great vicissitudes of fortune which he experienced in the loss and recovery of his father's kingdom. While he was fighting on the side of the Carthaginians, in Spain, his father, whose name was Gala, died: the kingdom, according to the custom of the Numidians, came to the king's brother Æsalces, who was far advanced in years. In a short time after, Æsalces also dying, Capusa, the elder of his two sons, the other of whom was very young, got possession of his father's dominions: but his title being supported, more by the regard paid to the right of descent, than from any respect to his character, or any strength which he possessed, there stood forth a person called Mezetulus, related by blood in some degree to the royal family. His progenitors, however, had always opposed their interests, and their issue had, with various success, disputed the throne with the branch then in possession. - This man, having roused his countrymen to

arms, among whom his influence was great, by reason of their dislike to the reigning dynasty, levied open war; so that the king was obliged to take the field, and fight for the crown. In that battle Capusa fell, together with a great number of the principal men of the kingdom; while the whole nation of the Massylians submitted to the dominion and government of Mezetulus. He did not however assume the regal title; but satisfied with the modest one of Protector, gave the name of king to the boy Lacumaces, the surviving son of him whom he had slain. In hopes of procuring an alliance with the Carthaginians, he took to wife a Carthaginian woman of distinction, daughter of Hannibal's sister, formerly married to king Æsalces; and sending ambassadors to Syphax, renewed with him an old connexion of hospitality, endeavouring, by all these measures, to secure a support against Masinissa.

30. On the other hand, Masinissa, hearing that his uncle was dead, and afterward that his cousin-german was slain, came over from Spain into Mauritania. The king of the Moors at that time was Bocchar: applying to him as a suppliant, he obtained, by the humblest entreaties, four thousand Moors to escort him on his journey, not being able to prevail for any aid in the war. When he arrived with these on the frontiers of the kingdom, as he had before despatched messengers to his own and his father's friends, about five hundred Numidians assembled about him. He then sent back the Moors according to his engagement; and although the numbers that joined him were short of his expectations, and not such as might encourage him to undertake an affair of moment; yet, believing that by entering on action, and making some effort, he should gather strength for a more important enterprise, he threw himself in the way of the young king Lacumaces, as he was going to Syphax at Thapsus. The attendants of Lacumaces flying back in consternation, Masinissa took the city at the first assault, received the submission of some of the king's party who surrendered, and slew others who attempted to resist: but the greatest part of them, with the boy himself, escaped during the tumult to Thapsus, whither they had at first intended to go. The success of Masinissa in this small exploit, and on the first commencement of his operations, drew the regards of the Numidians towards him, while the old soldiers of Gala flocked from all parts of the country and the towns, inviting the young prince to proceed to the recovery of his father's kingdom. Mezetulus was superior in number of men; for, besides the army with which he had conquered Capusa, he was strengthened by some troops who had submitted after the king was slain: the boy Lacumaces having likewise brought succours from

Syphax. Mezetulus had fifteen thousand foot, ten thousand horse, with whom Masinissa engaged in battle, though much inferior in number. The valour, however, of the veteran soldiers prevailed, aided by the skill of their leader, who had gained experience in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians. The young king, with his guardian and a small body of Massylians, escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Masinissa thus recovered his father's throne; yet, foreseeing that he should have a much more severe struggle to maintain against Syphax, he thought it best to come to a reconciliation with his cousin-german. Proper persons were accordingly sent to give Lacumaces hopes that if he put himself under the protection of Masinissa, he should enjoy the same honourable provision which *Æsalces* had formerly known under Gala; and to assure Mezetulus not only of impunity, but of an entire restitution of all his property. As they both preferred a moderate share of fortune at home to exile, he brought them over to his side, notwithstanding the Carthaginians used every means to prevent it.

During these transactions, *Hasdrubal* happened to be with Syphax; and when the Numidian seemed to think that it was of little consequence to him whether the government of the Massylians were in the hands of Lacumaces or of Masinissa, he told him that "he would be greatly mistaken in supposing that Masinissa would be content with the acquisitions which had satisfied his father Gala, or his uncle *Æsalces*. That he was possessed of much greater spirit and understanding than had ever appeared in any of his race: that he had often in Spain exhibited, both to his allies and enemies, instances of such courage as is very rarely seen: that both Syphax and the Carthaginians, unless they smothered that rising flame, would soon be enveloped in a general conflagration; when it would not be in their power to help themselves: that as yet his strength was infirm, and might be easily broken, while he was endeavouring to heal the divisions of his kingdom." By such kind of arguments Syphax was induced to lead an army to the frontiers of the Massylians, into a district about which there had often been not only verbal disputes, but battles fought with Gala; and there to pitch his camp, as if it were his acknowledged property; alleging that, "if any opposition were made, which was what was most to be wished, he would have an opportunity of fighting; but if the district were abandoned through fear, he should then proceed into the heart of the kingdom: that the Massylians would either submit to his authority without a contest, or, at all events, would be unable to contend with him." Stimulated by such discourses,

Syphax made war on Masinissa, and in the first encounter routed and dispersed the Massylians. Masinissa fled from the field, attended only by a few horsemen, to a mountain which the natives call Balbus. A number of families, with their tents and cattle, which is all their wealth, followed their king; the rest of the Massylians submitted to Syphax. The mountain of which the fugitive took possession abounds with grass and water; and as it was thus well adapted to the grazing of cattle, it supplied abundance of food to feed men living on flesh and milk. Excursions from hence were made through all the neighbouring parts; at first secretly and by night; afterward openly. The lands of the Carthaginians suffered most, because there was greater plenty of spoil there than among the Numidians, and it was carried off with less danger. At length they became so bold as to carry down their booty to the sea, and sell it to merchants, who brought their ships thither for the purpose; and on these occasions greater numbers of Carthaginians were slain and made prisoners than often happens in a regular engagement. On this subject the Carthaginians made heavy complaints to Syphax, earnestly pressing him to crush this remnant of the foe. To this he was himself well inclined, but thought it rather beneath the dignity of a king to pursue a vagrant robber, as he styled him, through the mountains.

32. Bocchar, a spirited and enterprising general, was chosen by the Numidian for that employment. Four thousand foot and two thousand horse were given him; with a promise of immense reward if he should bring back the head of Masinissa; or rather if he should take him alive, for that the latter would be to him a matter of inexpressible joy. Falling unexpectedly on Masinissa's men, when they were scattered about and off their guard, and were in considerable numbers, he shut them out, together with their cattle, from the protection of those who were in arms, driving Masinissa himself, with his few followers, to the summit of the mountain. On this, considering the war as nearly finished, he sent to the king both the booty of cattle and the prisoners, and also a part of his forces, which were more numerous than the remainder of the business required. Then, with no more than five hundred foot and two hundred horse, pursuing Masinissa, who had gone down from the top of the mountain, he shut him up in a narrow valley, securing the entrance at each end. Great slaughter was there made of the Massylians; Masinissa, with not more than fifty horsemen, effected a retreat through the intricate passes of the mountain, with which the pursuers were unacquainted. Bocchar, however, closely followed his steps, and

overtaking him in an open plain, near the city Clupea, surrounded him in such a manner that he slew every one of his followers except four horsemen: Masinissa with these, and after receiving a wound, slipped out of his hands, as it were, during the tumult. Their flight was in full view, a body of horse being spread over the whole plain, some of whom pursued these five remaining enemies, while others, in order to meet them, pushed across their route. A large river lay in the way of the fugitives, into which they plunged their horses without hesitation, being pressed by greater danger from behind. Hurried away by the current, they were carried down obliquely; and two of them being swallowed by its violent rapidity in sight of the enemy, they believed that Masinissa himself had perished: but, with the two other horsemen, he landed among some bushes on the farther bank. This put an end to Bocchar's pursuit, for he durst not venture into the river; and besides, he was persuaded that the object of it no longer existed; he therefore returned to the king with the ill-grounded report of Masinissa's death. Messengers were despatched with the joyful news to Carthage; though in its spread over Africa men's minds were variously affected by it. Masinissa, while healing his wounds by the application of herbs, and in a secret cave, lived for several days on what the two horsemen procured by pillage. As soon as it was cicatrized, and he thought himself able to bear the motion, he set out again with wonderful resolution to make another effort for the recovery of his kingdom. He collected in his way not more than forty horsemen; but, as soon as he arrived among the Massylians, and made himself known to them, they were so powerfully actuated both by their former affection and the unhopd for joy at seeing him in safety, whom they believed to have perished, that in a few days six thousand armed foot and four thousand horse repaired to his standard; and he not only got possession of his father's kingdom, but laid waste the countries in alliance with the Carthaginians, and the frontiers of the Massylians, the dominion of Syphax. Having thus provoked the Numidians to war, he took post between Cirtha and Hippo, on the tops of mountains, in a situation convenient for all his purposes.

33. Syphax, thinking this an affair of too much importance to be intrusted to the management of his generals, sent a part of his army with his son Vermina, then a youth, with orders to march round in a circuit, and fall on the enemy's rear when he himself should have attracted their attention to his side. Vermina set out by night, so as to be concealed until he should begin the attack; but Syphax decamped in the day, and marched openly, as he was to engage in a reg-

ular pitched battle. When he thought that sufficient time had been allowed for those who had been sent round to have arrived at their station, he led his forces by a gentle acclivity directly up the mountain, for he relied both on his numbers and the ambuscade which he had prepared on his enemy's rear. Masinissa, on the other side, drew up his men, depending chiefly on the advantage of the ground; although, had it been much less in his favour, he would not have declined the fight. The battle was furious, and for a long time doubtful: Masinissa being favoured by his situation and the bravery of his men; Syphax by his numbers, which were more than abundant. This great multitude being divided, one part pressed on in front, while the other part surrounded the rear; which gave a decided victory to Syphax; nor was there even room for the enemy to escape, enclosed as they were on both sides: the rest, therefore, horse and foot, were either slain or taken. Masinissa collected round himself, in close order, about two hundred horsemen, whom he divided into three squadrons, with orders to break through the enemy, having appointed a place where they should re-assemble, after being separated in their flight. He himself made his way through the midst of their weapons, as he had proposed: the other two squadrons failed in the attempt; one surrendering through fear, the other, after a more obstinate resistance, being overwhelmed with darts, and cut to pieces. Vermina followed close on the steps of Masinissa, who baffled him by frequently turning out of one road into another; and whom he at length obliged, harassed with extreme fatigue, to desist from the pursuit, and arrived himself with sixty horsemen at the lesser Syrtis. There, with the honourable consciousness of having often attempted the recovery of his father's kingdom, he rested until the coming of Caius Lælius and the Roman fleet to Africa, between the Carthaginian Emporia and the nation of the Garamantians. From these circumstances, I am inclined to believe that Masinissa came afterward to Scipio, rather with a small body of forces than a large one; for the very great number, which has been mentioned by some, suits the condition of a king on a throne; the smaller, that of an exile.

34. The Carthaginians having lost a large party of horse, together with their commander, made up another body of cavalry by a new levy, and gave the command of it to Hanno, son of Hamilcar. They sent frequently for Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, and at length by ambassadors. Hasdrubal was ordered to come to the aid of his native city, which was threatened with a siege; while Syphax was entreated to bring relief to Carthage, and to all Africa.

Scipio was at that time near Utica, above five miles from the city; having removed from the sea-coast, where for a few days he had a camp adjoining the fleet. Hanno, having received the newly raised body of calvary, (which, so far from being strong enough to make any attempt on the enemy, was not sufficient to protect the country from devastation,) made it his first care to increase their number by pressing. Those of other nations were not rejected; but he collected mostly Numidians, who are by far the best horsemen in Africa. Having got together four thousand horse, he took up his quarters in a city called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When this was told to Scipio, he said, with surprise, "What! cavalry lodging in houses during the summer! Let them be even more in number, while they have such a commander." The less they showed of activity, the less time he thought should be lost by himself; he therefore sent forward Masinissa with the cavalry, giving them directions to ride up to the gates, and entice the enemy out to battle. That when their multitude should pour out, and become too powerful in the contest, he should give way by degrees; and that he would himself come up in time to support the fight. When the advanced party had, as he supposed, effected his purpose, he followed with the Roman horse, and proceeded, without being observed, under cover of some rising grounds which lay very conveniently round the windings of the road. Masinissa, according to the plan laid down, acted at one time as if threatening an assault, at another as if seized with fear; now riding up to the very gates, and now retreating with dissembled haste, which gave such boldness to the enemy, that they were at length tempted to come out of the town, and pursue him, with disorder, in his counterfeited flight. All however had not come forth; and with these remaining numbers the commander was not a little perplexed. Some, overpowered with wine and sleep, he had to compel to the taking of arms; others he had to stop, who were running out by the gates without their standards, and in scattered parties, wholly regardless of order or ranks. Masinissa withstood them at first, while they rushed rashly to the charge; but soon after greater numbers pouring out, and their whole force of cavalry joining in the conflict, they could no longer be resisted. Yet Masinissa did not betake himself to a hasty flight, but retired leisurely, until he drew them on to the hills which concealed the Roman cavalry. These immediately rising up, their strength unimpaired, and their horses fresh, spread themselves round Hanno and the Africans, who were fatigued in the pursuit; and Masinissa, suddenly wheeling about, returned to the charge. About one thousand, who composed the first divi-

sion, and who could not easily retreat, were, together with Hanno the commander, surrounded and slain; the rest, terrified principally by the death of their general, fled in confusion, and were pursued for thirty miles by the conquerors, who took or slew two thousand more of the cavalry. It appeared that there were among these not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen, several of them of the richest and most distinguished families.

35. It happened that the same day on which this battle was fought, the ships which had carried the booty to Sicily, returned with stores, as if they had foreseen that they were to bear away another cargo as before. All writers do not mention two generals of the Carthaginians of the same name being slain in two battles of the cavalry; apprehending, I suppose, that there was a mistake, occasioned by the same fact being related twice. Nay, Coelius and Valerius even assert that Hanno was taken prisoner. Scipio made presents to the officers and horsemen, according to the behaviour of each; and, above all, he paid extraordinary honours to Masinissa. Having placed a strong garrison in Salera, he set out with the rest of the army; and not only laid waste the country wherever he marched, but also took some cities and towns, and thereby widely diffused the terror of his arms. Scipio returned to the camp on the seventh day after he had left it, bringing with him a great number of men and cattle, and a vast quantity of plunder. He then dismissed the ships, heavily laden, a second time, with all kinds of spoil. From that time laying aside small expeditions and predatory excursions, he turned the whole force of the war to the siege of Utica; intending, if he should take it, to establish his head-quarters there for the future, in order to the better execution of the rest of his designs. While the marine forces made their approaches on that side of the city which is washed by the sea, those of the land advanced from a rising ground hanging almost over the walls. Engines and machines had been sent from Sicily with the stores; and many were made in the armory, where a number of artificers, skilled in such works, were retained for the purpose. The people of Utica, attacked on all sides by such a powerful force, had no hopes but from the Carthaginians; nor the Carthaginians any but from Hasdrubal, and from him only, as he should be able to influence Syphax. But all measures proceeded too slowly for their anxious desire of aid, of which they stood so much in need. Hasdrubal, though he had, by the most diligent press, made up the number of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, yet durst not move towards the camp of the enemy before the arrival of Syphax. Syphax soon came with fifty thousand foot, and ten thou-

sand horse; and immediately decamping from Carthage, sat down at a small distance from Utica, and the intrenchments of the Romans. Their approach produced at least this consequence, that Scipio, after having besieged Utica for near forty days, and tried every expedient for its reduction, in vain, was obliged to retire from it, as the winter was now at hand. He fortified his winter camp on a promontory, joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, and which stretches out to some length into the sea; and included the naval camp within the same intrenchment. The legions were stationed on the middle of the isthmus; the ships were hauled on shore, and the seamen occupied the coast which faces the north; the cavalry a valley on the south. Such were the transactions in Africa to the latter end of autumn.

36. Various stores were imported from Sicily and Italy; and besides the corn collected from all quarters of the adjacent country, Cneius Octavius, propretor, brought a vast quantity out of Sardinia from Tiberius Claudius, the pretor; in consequence of which, not only the granaries already built were filled, but new ones were erected. Clothing was wanted for the troops: that matter was given in charge to Octavius, with directions to apply to the pretor, and to try if any could be procured by him; a business which he carefully attended to, for in a short time twelve hundred gowns and twelve thousand jackets were sent. During the same summer in which these things passed in Africa, Publius Sempronius, consul, who had the province of Bruttium, on his march in the district of Croton, engaged Hannibal in a tumultuary battle, or rather a kind of skirmishing. The Romans were worsted; and one thousand two hundred of the consul's army slain. The rest returned in confusion to the camp, which however the enemy did not dare assault. During the silence of the following night Sempronius marched away; and, having sent directions to Publius Licinius, proconsul, to bring up his legions, he made a junction of their forces: thus two commanders and two armies returned on Hannibal. Neither party declined an engagement; the consul deriving confidence from his forces being doubled; the Carthaginian, from his late victory. Sempronius led up his own legions into the first line, those of Licinius were placed in reserve. In the beginning of the battle the consul vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia, if he should defeat the enemy on that day; and the object of his vow was accomplished. The Carthaginians were routed and put to flight: above four thousand fell, somewhat less than three hundred were made prisoners, with whom were taken forty horses, and eleven military standards. Hannibal, dismayed

by this overthrow, drew off his army to Croton. At the same time, Marcus Cornelius, consul, not so much by force of his arms as by the terror of his judicial proceedings, kept Etruria in obedience; though it was almost entirely devoted to Mago, and to the hope of obtaining, by his means, a change of government. The inquisitions, directed by the senate, he executed with the utmost impartiality; and many of the Tuscan nobles, who had either gone themselves, or sent deputies to Mago, about the revolt of their states, stood trial, and were found guilty. Others, from a consciousness of guilt, went into voluntary exile; and by thus withdrawing, though condemned in their absence, could suffer only in a confiscation of their effects.

37. While the consuls were thus employed in different parts, the censors at Rome (Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius) called over the list of the senate. Quintus Fabius Maximus was again chosen principal; seven were disgraced; not one, however, of those who had sat in the curule chair. The orders for repairing public buildings were enforced with the greatest strictness. A road was contracted for, to be made from the ox market to the temple of Venus, with public seats; and a temple to be built for the Great Mother on the Palatine hill. A new tax, from the sale of salt, was established. This article had been sold at the sixth part of an ass, both at Rome and in all parts of Italy; and it was now directed to be supplied at the same rate at Rome, at a higher in the country towns and markets, and at various prices in different places. People were firmly persuaded that Livius had contrived this tax in resentment, and on account of a sentence having been formerly passed on him, which he had considered as unjust; and that, in fixing the price of salt, the greatest burden had been laid on those tribes by whose influence he had been condemned; hence the surname of Salinator was given to him. The lustrum was closed later than usual; because the censors sent persons through all the provinces to bring them a return of the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, there were rated in the survey two hundred and fourteen thousand men. Caius Claudius Nero had the honour of closing the lustrum. The senate then received a survey of twelve colonies, presented by the censors of those colonies, which had never been done before, in order that records might appear in the public archives of their proportion of strength both in men and money. The review of the knights then began; and it so happened that both the censors had a horse at the public expense. When they came to the Pollian tribe, in which was enrolled the name of Marcus Livius, and whom the herald hesitated to cite, Nero called

to him, "Cite Marcus Livius;" and being actuated either by some remains of their old enmity, or by an unseasonable affection of strictness, he ordered Livius to sell his horse, because he had been condemned by a sentence of the people. In like manner, Marcus Livius, when they came to the Mar-nian tribe, in which the name of his colleague appeared, he ordered him to dispose of his horse, for two reasons: one, that he had given false evidence; the other, that he had not been sincere in his reconciliation with him. Thus they became engaged in a scandalous contest, each aspersing the character of the other, though at the same time he injured his own. On going out of their office of censor, when Caius Claudius had taken the oath respecting the observance of the laws, and had gone up to the treasury, among the names of those whom he left disfranchised in the treasury list, he gave in the name of his associate. Marcus Livius also came thither, and except the Metian tribe, which had neither concurred in his condemnation, nor in appointing him consul or censor, he left the whole Roman people, thirty-four tribes, disfranchised in the treasury list; and this, he said, he did, because they had not only condemned him when innocent, but had elected him, while under the said sentence, both consul and censor; so that they could not deny that they had been guilty, either of one great fault in giving their sentence, or of two in the elections. He added, that Caius Claudius would be included in the list among the thirty-four tribes; but that if there had been any precedent of inserting any person twice in the treasury list, he would have inserted his name particularly. The contest between the censors, thus mutually reproaching each other, was shameful; while the rebuke given to the giddiness of the people was highly becoming a censor, and the strict principles of that age. The censors having fallen into disrepute, Cneius Bæbius, tribune of the people, thinking that their situation afforded him an opportunity of gaining notice, summoned them both to a trial before the people; but the senate interfered, and stopped any farther proceedings, lest the office of censor should in future be subjected to the humour of the populace.

38. During the same summer the consul took Clampetia in Bruttium by storm. Consentia and Pandosia, with other towns of small consequence, surrendered voluntarily; and, as the time of the elections drew near, it was thought more expedient to call home Cornelius from Etruria, where there was no employment for his arms. He elected Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Cneius Servilius Geminus. The election of the pretors was then held: there were chosen Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quintilius Varus, Publius Ælius Pæstus, and Publius Villius Tappulus; although the two lat-

ter were ediles of the commons. The consul, as soon as the elections were over, returned into Etruria to his army. The priests who died that year, and those who were substituted in the places of others, were Tiberius Veturius Philo, flamen of Mars, elected and inaugurated in the room of Marcus Æmilius Regillus, deceased the year before. In the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir, were elected, as decemvir, Marcus Aurelius Cotta; as augur, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then very young; an instance in those times extremely rare in the disposal of a priest's office. Golden chariots, with four horses, were that year placed in the capitol by the curule ediles, Caius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. The Roman games were repeatedly exhibited for two days. In like manner the plebeian, for two days, by the ediles, Publius Ælius and Publius Villius. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

BOOK XXX.

CHAP. I. CNEIUS SERVILIUS CÆPIO and Caius Servilius Geminus, in the sixteenth year of the Punic war [A. U. C. 549. B. C. 203] consulted the senate on the state of public affairs, the war, and the provinces. The senate decreed that the consuls should decide between themselves, or determine by lot, which of them should hold the province of Bruttium, and act against Hannibal; and which that of Etruria and Liguria. That he to whose lot Bruttium fell should receive the army from Publius Sempronius, late consul. That Publius Sempronius, to whom the command was continued as proconsul for a year, should succeed Publius Licinius, who was to come home to Rome. This commander had now acquired a high reputation for military skill, in addition to his other excellent qualifications, of which no citizen, at that time, possessed such an abundance; nature and fortune conspiring to confer on him every thing valuable in man. He was of a noble race, and possessed great wealth; he excelled in personal beauty and strength of body; he was esteemed the most eloquent of his time, whether he pleaded in the courts of justice, or enforced or opposed any measure, either in the senate, or before the people; and was, besides, remarkably skilled in the pontifical law. In addition to all these, the consulship enabled him to acquire fame in the field. The same method of proceeding, which the senate had decreed in regard to the province of

Bruttium, was ordered to be followed in respect of Etruria and Liguria. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to deliver the army to the new consul; and, his command being continued, to hold the province of Gaul, with those legions which Lucius Scribonius, pretor, had commanded the year before. The consuls then cast lots for the provinces: Bruttium fell to Cæpio, Etruria to Servilius Geminus. The provinces of the pretors were next put to the lot: Pætus Ælius obtained the city jurisdiction; Cneius Lentulus, Sardinia; Publius Villius, Sicily; Quintilius Varus, Ariminum, with two legions, which had been under Lucretius Spurius. Lucretius remained on his station, in order that he might rebuild the city of Genoa, which had been demolished by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio's command was continued, not for a period limited by time, but by the business, until an end should be put to the war in Africa; and it was decreed that a supplication should be performed, to obtain from the gods, that his having passed into Africa might prove happy to the people, to the general himself, and to the army.

2. Three thousand men were raised for Sicily; and because whatever strength it had possessed was carried over to Carthage, it was resolved that the coast of that island should be guarded by forty ships, lest any fleet should come thither from Africa. Villius carried with him to Sicily thirteen new ships; the rest were old ones repaired there. Marcus Pomponius, pretor of the former year, (his command of this fleet being continued,) took on board the new soldiers. An equal number of ships were decreed by the senate to Cneius Octavius, pretor likewise of the former year, with the same right of command, in order to protect the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus, pretor, was ordered to supply the fleet with two thousand soldiers. The defence of the coast of Italy was intrusted to Marcus Marcius, pretor of the former year, with the same number of ships; because it was uncertain to what place the Carthaginians might direct their attack, which would probably be against whatever part was destitute of forces for its defence: for that fleet, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, the consuls enlisted three thousand men, and also two city legions, for the exigences of the war. Spain, with the armies there, and the command, was decreed to the former generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. The Romans employed in their service, for that year, in all, twenty legions, and a hundred and sixty ships of war. The pretors were directed to repair to their provinces; and orders were given to the consuls that, before their departure from the city, they should celebrate the great games, which Titus Manlius Torquatus

in his dictatorship, had vowed to be exhibited in the fifth year, if the condition of the state remained unaltered. Religious apprehensions were raised in men's minds, by relations of prodigies brought from several places. It was believed that crows had not only torn with their beaks some gold in the capitol, but had even eaten it. At Antium, mice gnawed a golden crown. A vast quantity of locusts filled all the country round Capua, though it could not be discovered from whence they came. At Reate a foal was produced with five feet. At Anagnia there appeared in the sky, at first scattered fire, and afterward a prodigious blaze. At Frusino a circle encompassed the sun with a narrow line; then the orb of the sun, increasing in size, extended its circumference beyond the circle. At Arpinum, in a level plain, the earth sunk into a vast gulf. When one of the consuls sacrificed the first victims, the head of the liver was wanting. These prodigies were expiated by the greater victims, the college of pontiffs directing to what gods the sacrifices should be made.

8. As soon as this business was finished, the consuls and pretors set out for their respective provinces. They directed their chief attention to Africa, as if it were allotted to them, either because they saw that the grand interests of their country, and of the war, depended on the proceedings there, or from a desire to gratify Scipio, who was then the object of universal favour among all the members of the state. Therefore, thither were sent not only from Sardinia, as was mentioned before, but from Sicily also, and Spain, clothing, corn, and arms, with every other kind of stores; while Scipio relaxed not his diligence during any part of the winter in the operations of war, for which he found abundant occasion on every side. He was engaged in the siege of Utica; Hasdrubal's camp was within sight; the Carthaginians had launched their ships, and kept their fleet equipped, and in readiness to intercept his convoys. Amid so many objects which required his attention, he did not neglect endeavouring to recover the friendship of Syphax; hoping that he might now perhaps be cloyed with love in the full enjoyment of his bride. The answers of Syphax contained, chiefly, proposals for an accommodation with the Carthaginians on the terms of the Romans retiring from Africa, and the Carthaginians from Italy; but afforded scarcely any hopes that he would relinquish his present engagements. I am more inclined to believe that this business was transacted by messengers, as most authors affirm, than that Syphax came in person to the Roman camp to a conference, as Antius Valerius writes. At first, the Roman general hardly permitted those terms to be mentioned by his people;

but afterward, in order that they might have a plausible pretext for going frequently into the enemy's camp, he softened his refusals, even seemingly inclining to a negotiation. The winter huts of the Carthaginians were composed almost entirely of timber, which they had hastily collected from the fields; those of the Numidians were formed of reeds interwoven, and most of them covered with mats, and dispersed up and down without any regularity, some of them even on the outside of the trench and rampart, for they were left to choose their own ground. These circumstances being related to Scipio, gave him hopes that he might find an opportunity of burning the enemy's camp.

4. In the retinue of the embassy to Syphax, he sent, instead of the common attendants, centurions of the first rank, of approved courage and prudence, dressed as seryants; who while the ambassadors were engaged in conference, might ramble through the camp, and observe all the approaches and outlets; the situation and form, both of the whole and of the several parts of it; where the Carthaginians lay, where the Numidians; what distance there was between Hasdrubal's station and the king's; and at the same time, discover their method of fixing outposts and watches, and whether they were more open to surprise by night or by day. Many conferences being held, care was taken to send different persons at different times, in order that the greater number might be acquainted with every circumstance. These frequent conversations had led Syphax, and through him the Carthaginians, to entertain daily more confident expectations of a peace, when the Roman ambassadors told him that "they were ordered not to return to the general without a definitive answer; therefore, if his own determination was fixed, he should declare it; or if Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians were to be consulted, he should do it without delay. It was time that either the terms of peace should be adjusted, or the war carried on with vigour." While Syphax was consulting Hasdrubal, and Hasdrubal the Carthaginians, the spies had time to take a view of every thing, and Scipio also to make the preparations necessary to his design. From the mention of accommodation, and their expectation of it, the Carthaginians and Numidians took not the necessary precautions against any attempt which the enemy might make. At length an answer was returned, in which, as the Romans appeared exceedingly anxious for peace, the Carthaginians took the opportunity of adding some unreasonable conditions, which afforded a plausible pretence to Scipio, who now wished to break the truce. Accordingly, telling the king's messenger that "he would take the opinion of his council on the af-

fair," he answered him next day, that "he alone had laboured to put an end to the war, none of the other parties, in fact, showing any disposition towards it: that Syphax must entertain no hopes of entering into any treaty with the Romans, unless he renounced the party of the Carthaginians." Thus he dissolved the truce, in plans. Launching his ships, (for it was now the beginning of spring,) he put on board engines and machines, as if an attack on Utica were intended by sea; at the same time sending two thousand men to take possession of the hill which commanded that place, and which he had formerly occupied, with a view, at once, to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design, and to prevent any sally being made from the city, while he should be employed at a distance against Syphax and Hasdrubal. He likewise feared an attack should his camp be left with only a small force to defend it.

5. Having taken these preparatory steps, he summoned a council, ordering the spies to give an account of the discoveries which they had made; at the same time requesting Masinissa, who was as well acquainted with every circumstance of the enemy, to deliver his opinion; and, lastly, he informed them of a plan which he intended to execute on the following night. He gave orders to the tribunes that, as soon as the trumpets had sounded on the breaking up of the meeting at the pretorium, they should march the legions out of the camp. In pursuance of these orders the troops began to move a little before sunset; about the first watch they formed their line of march; and about midnight, (for the way was seven miles,) proceeding in a moderate pace, they arrived at the enemy's camp. He there gave Lælius the command of a part of the forces, to whom were joined Masinissa and the Numidians, with orders to fall on the camp of Syphax, and set it on fire. Then, taking Lælius and Masinissa apart, he entreated each separately, that "as the night would be apt to impede the best-concerted measures, they should make up for the difficulties by their diligence and care;" telling them also, that "he meant to attack Hasdrubal and the Carthaginian camp, but would not begin his operations until he should see the fire in that of the king." The business was not long delayed; and as the huts all stood contiguously, the flames spread rapidly through every part of the camp. The alarm was great, by reason of its being night, and from the widely-extended blaze; but the king's troops thinking it an accidental calamity, rushed out unarmed, in order to extinguish the flames, and met the enemy in arms, particularly the Numidians, whom Masinissa, being well acquainted with the king's station, had posted at the open-

ings of the passes. Many perished in their beds while half asleep ; while many, in their precipitate flight, crowded on one another, were trodden to death in the narrow passages of the gates.

6. When the Carthaginian sentinels, awakened by the tumult of the night, beheld the fire, they also supposed it to be accidental ; while the shout, raised amid the slaughter and wounds, was so confused, (the alarm, too, being in the dark,) that they were unable to discover the cause or extent of the evil which assailed them. Running out therefore in the utmost hurry, by all the gates, without arms, as not suspecting an enemy to be near, and carrying nothing with them but what might serve to extinguish the flames, they rushed against the body of Romans. All of these were slain, not merely to gratify hostile animosity, but in order to prevent any one escaping with intelligence as to the truth of the affair. Scipio, immediately after, attacked the gates, which were neglected, as may be supposed, during such confusion, and set fire to the nearest huts, which soon communicating to the others, the whole was soon enveloped in one general conflagration. Half-burned men and cattle stopped up the passages, first by the hurry of their flight, and afterward with their carcasses. Those who had escaped the flames were cut off by the sword, and the two camps were, by one fatal blow, involved in utter ruin. However, the two commanders, with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, half armed, and a great part wounded or scorched, got away. There were destroyed by fire or sword forty thousand men : taken, above five thousand ; many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators ; military standards, a hundred and seventy-four ; Numidian horses, above two thousand seven hundred ; six elephants were taken, and eight destroyed. A great quantity of arms was taken, all which the general dedicated to Vulcan, and committed to the flames.

7. Hasdrubal, with a small number of Africans, had directed his flight to the nearest city ; and thither all who survived, following the steps of their general, had assembled ; but, dreading lest he should be delivered into the hands of Scipio, he soon after quitted it. The Romans, who were immediately after received there, committed no act of hostility, because the surrender was voluntary. Two other cities were taken and plundered ; and the booty found in them, together with what had been saved when the camps were burned, was given up to the soldiers. Syphax halted in a fortified post, at about eight miles distance. Hasdrubal, lest any timorous measures should be adopted through the violent apprehensions occasioned by the late disaster, proceeded to

Carthage, where such consternation had seized the people, that they made no doubt but Scipio would leave Utica, and instantly lay siege to Carthage. The senate was therefore assembled by the suffetes, who are invested with the same authority as our consuls. Three different opinions were offered on the occasion: one proposed sending ambassadors to Scipio, with proposals of peace; another, the recalling of Hannibal, to defend his country; the third showed Roman firmness in adversity, recommending to recruit the army, and to entreat Syphax not to abandon the war. This latter opinion prevailed, because Hasdrubal, who was present, and all of the Barcine faction, were disposed to fight to the last. On this they began to levy troops in the city and the country, and sent ambassadors to Syphax, who was himself most vigorously employed in making preparations for the renewal of hostilities. His queen had prevailed, not on this occasion as formerly, by her allurements, which were sufficiently powerful over the mind of her lover, but by prayers and appeals to his compassion; with tears having beseeched him not to forsake her father and her country, nor suffer Carthage to be burned as the camps had been. Add to this, some new ground of hope, which offered itself very seasonably, the ambassadors acquainting him that they had met, near the city called Abba, four thousand Celtiberians, able young men, who had been enlisted by their recruiting parties in Spain, and that Hasdrubal would speedily arrive with a body of troops far from contemptible. Syphax not only gave a favourable answer to the Carthaginians, but showed them a multitude of Numidian peasants, to whom he had, within a few days, given arms and horses; and assured them also, that he would call out all the youth in his kingdom; observing, that "their loss had been occasioned by fire, not by battle; and that he only who was defeated by arms ought to be deemed inferior to his enemy." Such was his reply; and, a few days after, he and Hasdrubal again joined their forces, when their whole army amounted to about thirty thousand fighting men.

8. While Scipio gave his whole attention to the siege of Utica, as if no farther hostilities were to be apprehended from Syphax and the Carthaginians, and was employed in bringing up his machines to the walls, he was called away by the news of the war being revived. Leaving, therefore, only a small number of men on sea and land, to keep up the appearance of a siege, he set out himself with the main body of the army to meet the enemy. At first he took post on a hill, distant about four miles from the king's camp. On the day following, descending into the great plains, as they are called, which lie under that hill, with a

body of cavalry, he spent the day in advancing frequently to the enemy's posts, and provoking them by slight skirmishes. For the two succeeding days, however, though irregular excursions were made by both parties in turn, nothing worth notice was performed. On the fourth day both armies came out to battle. The Romans placed their first-rank men behind the front battalions, consisting of the spear-men, and the veterans, in reserve; posting the Italian cavalry on the right wing, the Numidians and Masinissa on the left. Syphax and Hasdrubal, having placed their Numidians opposite to the Italian cavalry, and the Carthaginians opposite to Masinissa, drew the Celtiberians into the centre of the line, facing the battalions of the legions: in this order they began the engagement. On the first encounter both wings, Numidians and Carthaginians, were forced to give way: for neither could the Numidians, most of whom were undisciplined peasants, withstand the Roman cavalry, nor the Carthaginians, who were also raw soldiers, withstand Masinissa, who besides other circumstances, was rendered terrible by his late victory. The line of Celtiberians, (although, having lost the cover of the wings, they were exposed on both flanks,) yet resolutely kept their ground; for neither could they see any safety in flight, being unacquainted with the country, nor had they any hope of pardon from Scipio, having come into Africa to fight against him for the sake of hire, notwithstanding the favours which he had conferred on them and their nation. Surrounded therefore on all sides, they died with determined obstinacy, falling in heaps one over another; and, while the attention of all was turned on them, Syphax and Hasdrubal availed themselves of this opportunity, and gained a considerable space of time to effect their escape. Night came on the conquerors, who were fatigued more with killing than from the length of the contest.

9. Next day Scipio sent Lælius and Masinissa, with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry, and the light infantry, in pursuit of Syphax and Hasdrubal. He himself, with the main body of the army, reduced all the cities in that part of the country which belonged to the Carthaginians, some by offering them hopes, others by threats, others by force. At Carthage the consternation was excessive: they expected nothing less than that Scipio, who was extending his operations on every side, should quickly subdue all the neighbouring places, and then immediately invest their city. They therefore repaired the walls, and strengthened them with outworks; every one exerting himself, in bringing in from the country such things as were requisite for sustaining a long and powerful siege. Little mention was made of

peace; very many advised that a deputation should be sent to recall Hannibal; but the greater number were earnest for despatching the fleet, (which had been equipped for the purpose of intercepting the convoys,) to surprise the ships stationed at Utica, where no attack was expected; alleging the probability that they might, at the same time, make themselves masters of the naval camp, which had been left with a slight guard. This latter scheme met general approbation; but, at the same time, they determined to call Hannibal home, because, should the fleet meet with all possible success, Utica would, indeed, be relieved from some part of the pressure of the siege; but, for the defence of Carthage itself, there was now no general remaining but Hannibal, and no army but his. The ships were therefore launched on the following day; at the same time the deputies set out for Italy, and, the juncture being critical, every measure was executed with the utmost despatch; each man thinking, that if he were in any degree remiss, he was so far a betrayer of the public safety. Scipio led on his forces by slow marches, as they were heavily loaded with the spoils of many cities. After sending the prisoners and other booty to his old camp at Utica, directing his views to Carthage, he seized on Tunes, which was defenceless, the garrison having fled. This city was very strong, both by nature and art: it may be seen from Carthage, from which it is distant about fifteen miles, and at the same time affords a prospect of that city and the adjacent sea.

10. The Romans, while busily employed in raising a rampart at Tunes, descried the fleet which was steering to Utica. On this the work was instantly dropped, and orders to march were issued. The troops set out with the utmost speed, lest the Roman fleet should be surprised, while attentive only to the siege, and in no condition for a naval fight: for how could any resistance have been made to a fleet of active ships, furnished with every kind of arms, by vessels loaded with engines and machines, and which were either converted to the purpose of transports, or pushed so close to the walls, that they served instead of mounds and bridges for the men to mount by? Scipio, therefore, contrary to the usual practice in sea engagements, drawing back the ships of war, which might be a protection to the others, into the rear, near the land, opposed to the enemy a line of transports consisting of four in depth, to serve as a wall; and lest this line should be broken during the confusion of the fight, he fastened the vessels together by means of masts and yards, passed from one to another with strong ropes, in such a manner as to form, as it might be called, one entire tier. Over these he laid planks, which formed a passage from ship to

ship through the whole line; and under those bridges of communication he left openings, through which the scout boats might run out towards the enemy, and retreat with safety. Having completed these sea works as well as the time allowed, he put on board the transports about a thousand chosen men to defend them, with a vast quantity of weapons, chiefly missive, sufficient to serve for a battle of any continuance. Thus prepared, they waited attentively the coming of the enemy. Had the Carthaginians been expeditious, they might at the first onset have overpowered the Romans, every thing being in hurry and confusion; but dispirited by their losses on land, and losing thereby their confidence at sea also, where their strength however was superior, they spent the whole day in approaching slowly, and about sunset put into a harbour, which the Africans call Ruscino. On the following day, about sunrise, they formed their ships in a line towards the open sea, as if for a regular sea-fight, and as if the Romans were to come out to meet them. When they had stood thus for a long time, and saw that no motion was made by the enemy, they attacked the transports. The affair bore no resemblance to a naval engagement; it was more like an attack made by ships against walls. The transports had some advantage in their height; for the Carthaginians, being obliged to throw their weapons upward, discharged most of them to no purpose against the higher places; whereas those from the transports fell with greater force, at the same time gaining additional power from their own weight. The scouts and lighter Roman vessels, which pushed out through the openings under the bridges of communication between their ships, were at first run down by the weight and bulk of the Carthaginian ships of war; and afterward they became an obstruction to those who defended the line, because, as they were mixed among the enemy's ships, they often obliged them to stop the discharge of their weapons, lest, missing their aim, they should hit their friends. At length the Carthaginians threw among the Romans beams furnished at the ends with iron hooks, which the soldiers call harpoons. They could neither cut the beams, nor the chains by which they were raised in order to be thrown, so that as soon as any of the ships of war, hauling back, dragged a transport entangled by the hook, the fastenings of these vessels broke, and in some places several were dragged away together. By this means, chiefly, were all the bridges torn asunder; and scarcely had the defenders time to make their escape into the second row of ships. About six were towed away to Carthage, where the joy of the people was greater than the occasion merited. But they were the more sensibly affected because this gleam of good

fortune, however small, had unexpectedly shone on them, in the midst of a continued course of losses and lamentations. It appeared that the Roman fleet would hardly have escaped destruction had not their own commanders been dilatory, so that Scipio had time to bring in relief.

11. Lælius and Masinissa having, about the fifteenth day, arrived in Numidia, Massyllia, Masinissa's hereditary kingdom, submitted to him with joy, as to a prince whom they had long and earnestly wished to hail. Syphax, seeing all his commanders and garrisons expelled from thence, retired within his own original dominions, but in no disposition to remain quiet. In his ambitious views he was spurred on by his queen and father-in-law; and indeed he possessed such abundance of men and horses, that a mind less barbarous and violent than his might well assume confidence; and when reflecting on the great strength of a kingdom, which had enjoyed prosperity for a long course of years. Wherefore, collecting together all who were able to bear arms, he distributed among them horses and weapons: he divided the horsemen into troops, and the footmen into cohorts, as he had formerly learned from the Roman centurions; and thus with an army not less numerous than that which he had before, but composed almost entirely of raw undisciplined men, he advanced towards the enemy, and pitched his camp at a small distance from theirs. At first a few horsemen advanced from the outposts, to make observations; these being attacked with javelins, retreated to their friends. Skirmishing parties then came forth from both sides; and whichever of these were repulsed, their fellows, being inflamed with indignation, came up in greater numbers to their support. This is generally the prelude to engagements between the cavalry; hope encouraging the party which prevails, and rage exasperating that which is worsted. Thus, on the present occasion, the fight having commenced between small divisions, the eagerness of the dispute drew out at length the whole force of cavalry on both sides. While the contest lay entirely between these, the Massesyllians, whom Syphax sent out in immense bodies, could hardly be withstood. Afterward the Roman infantry rushing in suddenly between their own cavalry, who opened passages for them, gave firmness to their line, and terrified the enemy, who were advancing furiously to the charge. The barbarians at first pushed on their horses with less briskness; then halted, disconcerted somewhat by this new manner of fighting; at last, they not only gave way to the infantry, but did not dare to withstand even the horse, imboldened as they were by the support of the foot. And now the battalions also of the legions approached, when the Massesyllians, so far from daring

to meet their first attack, could not support even the sight of the engines and arms; so strongly were they affected, either by their recollection of their former calamities, or by the present danger. At this juncture Syphax, galloping up to try if, either by shame or by the danger to which he was exposed, he could stop the flight of his men, being thrown from his horse, which was grievously wounded, was overpowered and taken, and dragged alive to Lælius—a sight grateful to Masinissa above all others. To Cirtha, the capital of Syphax's kingdom, a vast multitude fled. The number of slain in that battle was less than in proportion to the greatness of the victory, because the cavalry only had been engaged. Not more than five thousand were killed; less than half that number taken, in an attack on their camp, to which the multitude had retired in dismay at the loss of their king.

12. Masinissa declared that "nothing could be more highly gratifying to him, now that he was victorious, after so long a struggle, than to revisit his paternal kingdom: but that the present happy situation of his affairs required activity, as much as his former misfortunes. If Lælius would permit him to go on before him to Cirtha, with the cavalry, and Syphax as his prisoner, he would strike such terror, while the enemy were in confusion and dismay, as would crush all opposition; and that Lælius might follow with the infantry by easy marches." Lælius assenting, he went forward to Cirtha, and ordered the principal inhabitants to be invited to a conference. But, as they were ignorant of their king's misfortune, neither his relation of what had passed, nor his threats, nor persuasions, wrought any effect, until Syphax was produced to their view in chains. This shocking sight excited a general lamentation; some, in a panic, deserted the walls, others hastily agreed to endeavour to gain the favour of the conqueror, and opened the gates: whereon Masinissa, having despatched guards to these and other parts of the fortifications, to prevent any person going out of the town, galloped on in full speed to take possession of the palace. As he entered the porch, Sophonisba, Syphax's queen, daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him at the door; where, seeing Masinissa in the midst of a band of armed men, distinguished by his arms and apparel, and judging rightly that he was the king, she fell at his knees, and thus addressed him: "The favour of the gods, added to your own valour and good fortune, has given you absolute power to dispose of us. But if, in the presence of the sovereign disposer of her life and death, a captive may be allowed to utter the words of a suppliant, to touch his knees, or victorious right hand, I entreat and beseech you, by the majesty of a king, of which we also were just now possessed—by the

name of the Numidian race, which is common to you and Syphax—by the guardian gods of this palace, who, I hope, will receive you with better omens than they sent Syphax hence, grant so much favour to your suppliant, as that you will, yourself, determine whatever you may think proper concerning your captive, and not suffer me to fall under the haughty and cruel disposal of any Roman. Were I nothing more than the wife of Syphax, I had much rather trust to the honour of a Numidian, one born in the same country with me, than to a foreigner, and from a distant part of the world: but what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Hasdrubal, has reason to dread from a Roman, is manifest to you. If you cannot by any other means, I implore and beseech you, that you will, by my death, secure me from the power of the Romans." She was remarkably beautiful, and in the full bloom of youth; so that, while she pressed his right hand, and implored his protection only so far, as that she should not be delivered up to any Roman, her discourse was more like caresses than entreaty; and the conqueror's mind was not only subdued to pity, but, as all the Numidians are extremely amorous, the victorious king became the slave of his captive;* and giving his right hand as a pledge for the performance of what she had requested, he went into the palace. Immediately he began to consider within himself by what means he might fulfil his engagement; and not being able to devise any, he adopted a rash and shameful resolution, suggested by his love. He gave orders that every thing should be instantly prepared for a marriage on that same day, in order that he might leave no room for Lælius, or Scipio himself, to proceed against her as a captive, since she would then be his wife. After the marriage was concluded, Lælius arrived; and so far was he from dissembling his disapprobation of the proceeding, that at first he even resolved to drag her from the nuptial bed, and send her with Syphax to Scipio: but he was afterward prevailed on by the entreaties of Masinissa, who besought him to leave it to the Romans to determine which of the two kings should have Sophonisba a sharer of his fortune. Sending away, therefore, Syphax and the other prisoners, he reduced, with the assistance of Masinissa, all the cities of Numidia which were held by the king's garrisons.

13. When it was announced that the detachment was bringing Syphax to the camp, the whole multitude poured

* Sophonisba had been formerly betrothed to Masinissa, and being afterward given to Syphax, was one reason of his quarrelling with the Carthaginians, and joining the Romans. Another was, that in the contest between him and Mezutulus for the throne, his rival had been aided by the Carthaginians.

out, as if to the sight of a triumph. He preceded the king in chains, and was followed by a number of noble Numidians. On this occasion every one spoke in the most exalted terms of the greatness of Syphax, and the fame of his nation; thus exaggerating the renown of their victory. "That was the king," they said, "to whose dignity the two most powerful states in the world, the Roman and Carthaginian, had paid such deference; that for the sake of procuring his friendship, their own general, Scipio, leaving his province and his army, sailed with only two quinqueremes to Africa; and the Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal, not only visited his kingdom, but also gave him his daughter in marriage. That the Roman and Carthaginian generals had been within his grasp at one and the same time. That as both parties had, by the offer of sacrifices, solicited the favour of the immortal gods, so his friendship had been equally sought for by both. That he lately possessed power so great as to enable him to expel Masinissa from his kingdom; and to reduce him to such a state, that his life was preserved by a report of his death, and by lurking in concealment, while he was obliged, like a wild beast, to live in the woods on prey." Such were the discourses of the throng through which the king was led to the general's quarters. Scipio was moved on comparing the former situation of the man with the present; and also by the recollection of their connexion in hospitality, of their right hands pledged, and the treaty concluded between themselves and their states. These circumstances gave Syphax courage in addressing his conqueror: for, when Scipio asked him, "what had been his views in not only renouncing his alliance with the Romans, but even making war on them?" he answered that "he had indeed erred, or rather acted under an impulse of insanity; but not at that time, principally, when he took up arms against the Romans: that was the consequence of his madness, not the actual beginning of it. That he was indeed mad when he banished from his thoughts all the ties of private friendship and public leagues, and when he received a Carthaginian wife into his house. By those nuptial torches his palace had been set in flames; that mischievous fury had, by every kind of allurements, perverted his judgment, and led it astray; nor ever desisted, until with her own hands she clad him in detestable arms against his guest and his friend. Yet, ruined and hopeless as he was, he felt some comfort in his misfortunes, from seeing that pestilent woman removed into the house and family of his bitterest enemy. Adding, that Masinissa possessed neither more prudence nor firmness than himself. His youth, indeed, had made him incautious; but there was evidently more folly and rashness in the latter marriage than in his."

14. These words, dictated not merely by animosity towards his enemy, but by anguish on seeing the woman whom he had loved in the possession of his rival, impressed the mind of Scipio with no small degree of solicitude. He was, however, the more induced to listen to Syphax, from the marriage having been hurried forward, in the midst of arms, without either consulting or waiting for Lælius; and from Masinissa's taste, for on the very day in which he had seen Sophonisba made prisoner, he had contracted matrimony with her, and performed the nuptial sacrifice, in presence of the household gods of his enemy. These proceedings appeared to Scipio the more heinous, because he himself, when in Spain, and when a very young man, had not allowed himself to be moved by the beauty of any captive whatever. While he was revolving these circumstances in his mind, Lælius and Masinissa arrived, to both of whom he gave the same kind reception; and afterward made known their conduct, with the highest praises, in a full assembly. Then retiring with Masinissa to a private place, he thus addressed him: "I suppose, Masinissa, that in first coming to Spain for the purpose of contracting a friendship with me, and afterward in Africa, submitting yourself, and all your concerns, to my protection, you must have been influenced by some good qualities which I was said to possess. Now, of these virtues which made you think my favour worth soliciting, there is not one on which I value myself so much, as temperance, and the government of my passions. I wish, Masinissa, that to your other excellent qualifications you had added this one also. There is not so much danger, believe me there is not, to persons of our time of life, from armed foes, as from the pleasures which every where surround us. He who has curbed and reduced his passions to subjection, has really acquired to himself much greater glory, and a far more honourable victory, than that which we now enjoy in our conquest of Syphax. The instances of courage and conduct, which you displayed while I was not present, I have mentioned with pleasure, and I retain a proper sense of them. As to other matters, I rather wish that you would review them in your own mind, than that you should blush at my recital of them. Syphax has been subdued and taken under the auspices of the Roman people; therefore he, his wife, his kingdom, his territories, his towns, and the inhabitants of them, in short, whatever was the property of Syphax, is now the prize of that people. Both the king and his wife, even though she were not a citizen of Carthage, and we had not seen her father heading the enemy's army, ought to have been sent to Rome, where the Roman state should have had the power

of judging and determining concerning her—a woman who is said to have seduced a king in alliance with us, and to have precipitated him into the war. Restrain your feelings. Beware, lest by one vice you disparage a number of good qualities, and destroy the credit of so many meritorious deeds, by a fault, too great to be palliated, even by the occasion of it.”

15. On hearing this discourse, not only Masinissa's countenance was suffused with blushes, but he even burst into tears; and after declaring that “in future he would be directed entirely by Scipio,” and entreating him, “as far as the affair would permit, to consider the obligation into which he had rashly entered, not to give the queen into the power of any one,” he retired in confusion from the general's tent to his own. There, dismissing his attendants, he spent some time in sighs and moans, which could be heard distinctly by those who stood without. At last, having uttered a deep groan, he called one of his servants, in whom he confided, and who had the charge of the poison, which, according to the custom of kings, is kept against the uncertainties of fortune, and ordered him to mix some in a cup; to carry it to Sophonisba; and to tell her at the same time, that “Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the first obligation which he owed her,—that due from a husband to his wife; but that, since those who had the power had not left that in his option, he now performed his second engagement, that she should not come alive into the hands of the Romans. He therefore requested her to remember her father, the general, her country, and the two kings to whom she had been married; and to take such steps as she should judge proper.” When the servant carrying this message and the poison, came to Sophonisba,—“I receive,” said she, “this nuptial present, by no means an unacceptable one, if my husband has not the power to perform more for his wife. Tell him, however, that I should have died better, had I not married in the very moment of my funeral.” The firmness with which she spoke was not greater than the resolution with which she received and drank off the contents of the cup. When Scipio was informed of this event, dreading lest the young man, whose passions were violent, might, in the present disorder of his mind, take some desperate measure, he sent for him instantly; and at one time consoled, at another gently chid him, for having atoned one act of rashness by another, and for having rendered the affair more horrid than was necessary. Next day, in order to divert his thoughts from the object which, at the present, distressed him, he mounted his tribunal, and ordered an assembly to be summoned. There, after he had first hon-

crowned Masinissa with the title of king, and passed high encomiums on his merit, he presented to him a golden crown, a golden goblet, a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered robe, and a vest striped with purple; enhancing the honour by saying that "among the Romans there was nothing more magnificent than a triumph, and that those who were so distinguished had not a more splendid dress than that of which Masinissa alone, of all foreigners, was esteemed worthy by the Roman people." Lælius also he highly commended, and presented with a golden crown; and on others of the military he conferred gifts suitable to the services which they had performed. By these honours conferred on him, the king's mind was soothed, and encouraged to hope that he should soon be in possession of the whole extent of Numidia, now that Syphax was removed out of his way.

16. Scipio, sending Caius Lælius, with Syphax and the other prisoners, to Rome, with whom went also ambassadors from Masinissa, led back his troops to Tunes, and completed the fortifications which he had begun some time before. The Carthaginians, who had been filled with a short-lived joy, on account of their success in the attack on the Roman fleet, (and which in their then circumstances they had considered as important,) on hearing of the capture of Syphax, in whom they had placed more of their hopes than in Hasdrubal and their own army, were struck with dismay, and would listen no longer to any who advised to continue the war; but sent, as their agents to sue for peace, thirty of the principal elders. These compose the assembly of the highest dignity among them, having the principal control over the senate itself. Arriving at the general's tent, they prostrated themselves, like those who humbly fawn on kings, having learned that mode, I suppose, from the country whence they derived their origin. Their discourse was suitable to such servile adulation, not attempting to apologise for their conduct, but transferring the blame on Hannibal, and the favourers of his violent measures. They implored pardon for their state, which had been twice ruined by the rashness of its citizens, and would a second time be indebted for its restoration to the generosity of an enemy: they observed that "the Roman people sought dominion over the conquered, not their destruction; and declared themselves ready to pay implicit obedience to any commands which their subjugators should be pleased to impose." Scipio told them that "he had come into Africa with the expectation, which had been farther encouraged by the happy fortune of his army, of carrying home conquest, not peace. That, however, although he had conquest within his reach, yet he did not reject peace; that all nations might know

that the Roman people were guided by the principles of justice, both in undertaking and concluding wars. That these were the terms of peace which he prescribed:—that they should give up the prisoners, deserters, and fugitives; withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; renounce all pretensions to Spain; retire from all the islands which lie between Italy and Africa; deliver up all their ships of war, except twenty, and furnish five hundred thousand measures of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley." What sum of money he demanded, authors are not agreed. In some, I find five thousand talents;* in others, five thousand pounds weight of silver; while it is also said that double pay of the troops was imposed. "Three days," said he, "shall be allowed you to consider whether you approve of peace on these conditions. If you do approve of it, then make a truce with me, and send ambassadors to Rome to the senate." The Carthaginians, thus dismissed, thought it advisable to submit to any terms, as the only object they had in view was to gain time, until Hannibal should come over to Africa; and therefore they sent ambassadors to Scipio, to conclude a truce, and others to Rome to solicit peace. These carried with them a few prisoners, deserters, and fugitives, to make a show of obedience, and that they might attain their object with the less difficulty.

17. Lælius, with Syphax and the principal Numidian prisoners, arrived at Rome several days before them, and related, in order, to the senate, the several transactions which had passed in Africa. Great was the rejoicing on account of the present state of affairs, and the most sanguine hopes were entertained with respect to the future. The senate then, on the business being proposed, ordered that the king should be sent prisoner to Alba, and that Lælius should be detained until the arrival of the Carthaginian ambassadors. A supplication for four days was decreed. Publius Ælius, pretor, when the senate broke up, called an assembly of the people, and ascended the rostrum with Caius Lælius. There, on hearing that the Carthaginian armies had been routed; so renowned a monarch as Syphax vanquished and made prisoner; and conquest extended, with extraordinary success, over every part of Numidia, the people could not contain their joy, but by shouts and other methods usually practised by the multitude, expressed immoderate transports. The pretor therefore immediately issued orders, that the keepers should open the temples in every part of the city; and that all should be allowed, during the whole day, to go round them, and pay

their worship and thanks to the gods. On the day following, he introduced Masinissa's ambassadors, who first congratulated the senate on the success of Publius Scipio in Africa; then gave thanks for his having "not only honoured Masinissa with the title of king, but made him one, by reinstating him on the throne of his father; where (now that Syphax was removed) he had, if it so pleased the senate, a prospect of reigning without contest or apprehension; they likewise made their acknowledgments for praises he had bestowed on him in the assembly, and for the very magnificent presents with which he had loaded him." They added, "that Masinissa had exerted his best endeavours to appear not unworthy of those favours, and would continue so to do. They then requested the senate to confirm by their decree the title of king, and the other distinguished marks conferred on him by Scipio; telling them that their monarch farther entreated, that, if it so pleased them, the Numidian prisoners then in Rome might be sent home, a circumstance which would do him high honour among his countrymen." The senate made answer, "that congratulations on the successes of Africa ought in the confederates to be mutual; that Scipio appeared to have acted properly and regularly, in giving to their Numidian ally the title of king; and that whatever else he should do, grateful to Masinissa, the senate ratified and approved it." They then ordered the pretor to prepare the following presents for the king:—two purple robes with a golden clasp and vests, with broad purple borders; two horses with trappings; two suits of horseman's armour, with coats of mail; with tents and camp furniture, such as is customary to provide for a consul. Donatives were also voted for the ambassadors, not less than five thousand asses* to each; for their attendants, a thousand asses;† two suits of apparel to each of the ambassadors, one to each of their attendants, and the same to the Numidians, who were to be freed from imprisonment, and sent back to the king. Besides which, they ordered entire suits of apartments and entertainment for the embassy.

18. In the course of the summer, during which those transactions passed in Africa, and these decrees at Rome, Publius Quintilius Varus, pretor, and Marcus Cornelius, proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian, in the country of the Insubrian Gauls. The pretor's legions were in the first line; Cornelius kept his in reserve, placing himself in front. The pretor and proconsul exhorted the soldiers to make the attack with the utmost

* 16l. 2s. 11d.

† 8l. 4s. 7d.

vigour. Finding that they made no impression on the Carthaginian line, Quintilius said to Cornelius, "The battle flags, as you may perceive; and the enemy finding themselves able to make resistance beyond what they had hoped; are hardened against fear, and it is well if they do not assume boldness: we must bear down with the cavalry, if we expect to disorder or drive them from their ground. Do you therefore support the battle in front, and I will bring up the horse; or I will take care of matters here, while you charge with the cavalry of the four legions." The proconsul offering to undertake either part of the business, as the pretor should direct, Quintilius, the pretor, with his son Marcus, a youth of a high and ardent spirit, took the command of the cavalry, and having ordered them to mount their horses, led them on instantly to the charge. The confusion occasioned by these was increased by the shouts of the legions; nor would the Carthaginian line have stood their ground, had not Mago immediately brought up the elephants to the fight, having kept them in readiness against the first motion which the horse should make. By the snorting and sight of these animals, the horses were frightened to such a degree, as rendered the aid of the cavalry of no effect. As the Roman horseman had the advantage in point of strength, when in close fight, and when he could use his javelin and sword hand to hand; so the Numidian had the better in darting javelins at him from a distance, and when his horse's fright would not suffer him to advance. Among the infantry, the twelfth legion having lost the greater part of their number, kept their ground, rather through shame, than that they had strength to maintain it. They must soon however have fallen back, had not the thirteenth legion, led up from the reserve to the front, supported the doubtful conflict. Mago at the same time brought up to oppose this fresh legion the Gauls, drawn also from his reserve. These being routed without much difficulty, the spearmen of the eleventh legion formed themselves into a circular body, and attacked the elephants, which were now throwing the line of the infantry into confusion; and by discharging their spears at them, hardly any of which were thrown in vain; as the beasts were close together, they turned them all on the line of their own party. Four of them, overpowered with wounds, fell. On this the first line of the enemy began to give way; when all the infantry, seeing the elephants turning about, rushed on in order to increase the terror and confusion. As long, however, as Mago stood at the head of the troops, the ranks retreating leisurely, kept up the spirit of the battle; but when they saw him fall on receiving a wound

through his thigh, and carried lifeless out of the field, instantly all betook themselves to flight. There were five thousand Carthaginians slain on that day, and twenty-two military ensigns taken. Nor was the victory bloodless on the side of the Romans: two thousand three hundred men of the pretor's army were lost, by far the greater part of whom were of the twelfth legion; of which legion also fell two military tribunes, Marcus Gosconius and Marcus Mænius. Of the thirteenth legion, likewise, which had shared the latter part of the engagement, Cneius Helvius, military tribune, was slain while employed in restoring the fight. There perished, besides, thirty-two horsemen of some distinction, who were trodden down by the elephants, together with some centurions. Probably the contest would not have been so soon ended, had not the wound of their general made the enemy retire from the field.

19. Mago, setting out during the silence of the next night, and making as long journeys as his wound allowed him to bear, arrived at the sea-coast, in the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. There the deputies from Carthage, who had a few days before arrived with the ships in the Gallic bay, waited on him, and delivered orders to him to pass over to Africa as soon as possible; informing him that his brother Hannibal, to whom messengers had been also sent, would do the same, for the affairs of the Carthaginians were not in a condition to hold possession of Gaul and Italy by arms. Mago was not only moved by the commands of the senate and the danger that threatened his country, but dreaded lest, if he delayed, he might be hard pressed by the victorious enemy; and also, lest the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were about to relinquish Italy, might revolt to those under whose power they must speedily fall. He at the same time entertained hopes that his wound might be less irritated on board a ship than on land, and that he might there be able to attend to the cure of it with more convenience. Embarking therefore his troops, he set sail, and had scarcely passed Sardinia when he died; on the coast of which island, several Carthaginian ships which had been dispersed were taken by the Roman fleet. Such were the occurrences by land and sea, on that side of Italy nearest to the Alps. The consul Cneius Servilius performed nothing memorable in Etruria, or in Gaul, (for he had advanced into that country,) except that he rescued from slavery, which they had endured for sixteen years, his father, Caius Servilius, and his uncle Caius Lutatius, who had been taken by the Boians at the village of Tanetum. He returned to Rome accompanied by these on each side of him, distinguished rather by family badges than public services. It was pro-

posed to the people, that "Cneius Servilius should not be subject to penalty, for having, contrary to the laws, during the life of his father, (a circumstance of which he was at that time ignorant,) and who sat in the curule chair, accepted the offices of tribune of the commons, and plebeian edile;" this being admitted, he returned to his province. Consentia, Uffugum, Vergæ, Besidia, Hetriculum, Syphæum, Argentanum, Clampetia, and many other small states, perceiving that the Carthaginians grew languid in their operations, came over to Cneius Servilius the consul, then in Bruttium; and who had fought a battle with Hannibal in the district of Croton, of which we have no clear account. Valerius Antias says that five thousand of the enemy were slain. This is a circumstance of such importance, that either it must be an impudent fiction, or they were guilty of great negligence who omitted mentioning it. It is certain that Hannibal made no farther efforts in Italy, for deputies came to him from Carthage recalling him to Africa, nearly at the same time with Mago.

20. Hannibal is said to have been thrown into the most violent agitation, and scarcely to have refrained from shedding tears, on hearing the words of the deputies. When they had delivered the orders which they had in charge, he said,—“Now, indeed, they recall me, not in ambiguous terms, but openly, who have, for a long time past, been dragging me home, by refusing me supplies both of men and money. It is not the Roman people, so often discomfited and routed, that has conquered Hannibal, but the Carthaginian senate, through the malicious suggestions of envy; nor will Scipio exult and pride himself so much in this my disgraceful retreat, as will Hanno; who, unable to do it by any other means, has crushed our family under the ruins of Carthage.” As he had for some time foreseen this event, he had ships already prepared; dismissing therefore a useless crowd of soldiers, under the appearance of garrisons, into the towns of Bruttium, a few of which adhered to him rather through fear than affection, he carried over to Africa such of the troops as were fit for service. A great number of natives of Italy, refusing to follow him to Africa, and flying to the sanctuary of Juno Lacinia, which, till that day, had never been violated, were barbarously put to death within the walls of the temple. We are told, that hardly any person ever showed more grief on leaving his native soil to go into exile, than Hannibal on his departure from the country of his enemy: that he often looked back on the coast of Italy, inveighing against gods and men, uttering curses on his own head for not having led his men to Rome, yet reeking with blood from the slaughter at Cannæ; reflecting,

With the bitterest vexation, that Scipio, who, since his appointment to the consulship, had not looked in the face of the Carthaginian enemy in Italy, had yet spirit to go and attack Carthage; while he, who had slain a hundred thousand fighting men at Thrasymentus and Cannæ, had suffered his strength to moulder away about Casilinum, Cumæ, and Nola. In the midst of such self-reproaches and complaints, he was forced away from Italy, in which he had so long maintained a divided power with the Romans.

21. News was brought to Rome at the same time that both Mago and Hannibal had departed for Africa. But the exultation of the people was diminished by the reflection, that the Roman commanders had shown a want either of spirit or of strength, in not preventing such departure, though they had received orders to that purpose from the senate. They had also much anxiety concerning the final issue of affairs, now that the whole weight of the war fell on one general and his army. About the same time ambassadors arrived from Saguntum, bringing with them some Carthaginians who had come over to Spain to hire auxiliaries, and whom they had seized, together with their money. They laid down in the porch of the senate-house two hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold and eighty of silver. The agents were thrown into prison; the gold and silver were returned, and thanks given to the Saguntines; presents were made to them besides, and ships provided to convey them home to Spain. Some of the older senators then observed, that "Men had less lively sensations of good than of evil. Did they remember what terror and consternation Hannibal's coming into Italy had excited? What losses they had sustained, and what lamentations had followed? When the Carthaginian camp was seen from the walls of the city, what vows were then offered up by each particular person and by the whole body of the people! How often, in their assemblies, were their hands stretched out towards heaven, and exclamations heard—O! will that day ever arrive, when we shall see Italy cleared of the enemy, and blessed once more with the enjoyment of peace? That now, at length, in the sixteenth year, the gods had granted their wish, and yet not the slightest proposal had been made of returning thanks to the gods. So deficient are men in gratitude, even at the time when a favour is received; and much less are they apt to retain a proper sense of it afterward." Immediately, a general exclamation broke forth from every part of the senate-house, that Publius Ælius, the pretor, should take the sense of the senate on the subject; and a decree passed, that a supplication should be solemnized in all the temples for

five days, and a hundred and twenty of the greater victims offered in sacrifice.

22. After Lælius and Masinissa's ambassadors were dismissed, accounts were brought, that the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were coming to treat of peace, had been seen at Puteoli, and would proceed from thence by land; on which the senate resolved, that Caius Lælius should be recalled, in order that he might be present at the proceedings. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, a lieutenant-general under Scipio, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome, but they were forbidden to enter the city. Apartments were provided for them in the Villa Publica, and an audience of the senate was granted them in the temple of Bellona. Their discourse was nearly the same with that which they had made to Scipio, throwing off all the blame of the war from the community, and laying it on Hannibal. They affirmed, that "he had acted contrary to the orders of the senate, not only in passing the Alps, but even in crossing the Iberus; and that he had, without any authority from them, made war not only on the Romans, but before that on the Saguntines; that, if the facts were duly considered, the senate and people of Carthage had, to that day, inviolably observed the treaty with the Romans. Therefore they had nothing farther in charge, than to request, that they might be allowed to abide by the terms of the peace which had been lately concluded with the consul Lutatius." The pretor, according to the established custom, giving permission to the senators to make such inquiries of the ambassadors as any of them thought proper; the older members, who had been present at the concluding of the treaties, asked various questions relative to them. The Carthaginians replied, that they were not of an age to remember particulars, (for almost all of them were young:) on which, the house resounded with exclamations, that Punic faith was evident, in appointing such men as these to solicit the renewal of a former peace, with the terms of which they were themselves unacquainted.

23. The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the senators proceeded to give their opinions. Marcus Livius recommended, that "Cneius Servilius, the consul who was the nearest home, should be sent for, to be present at the proceedings; for as no subject of greater importance than the present could ever come under their consideration, so he did not think it consistent with the dignity of the Roman people, that an affair of such magnitude should be transacted in the absence of both the consuls." Quintus Metellus, who three years before had been consul, and had also been dictator, proposed, that "whereas Publius Scipio, by destroying the armies of the enemy, and wasting their country, had re-

duced them to such necessity, that they sued for peace : No person whatever could be a more competent judge of their intention in making the application, and therefore they should be wholly directed by the advice of that general, who was carrying on the war under the walls of Carthage."—Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, charged those men with being come as spies, and not as ambassadors ; and advised, that " they should be ordered to depart from Italy ; that guards should be sent with them to their ships ; and that orders should be sent to Scipio, not to intermit his operations." Lælius and Fulvius added, that " Scipio had grounded his hopes of success on Hannibal and Mago not being recalled from Italy. That the Carthaginians would feign a compliance with any measures, while they waited for the arrival of those generals and their armies ; and would afterward, forgetting all gods and all treaties, however recent, pursue the war." This observation made them more readily concur in the opinion of Lævinus. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed, and almost without an answer.

24. About the same time, the consul, Cneius Servilius, not doubting but that he should enjoy the glory of having restored peace to Italy, passed over into Sicily in pursuit of Hannibal, (as if he himself had compelled him to retreat,) intending to proceed from thence to Africa. As soon as this became known at Rome, the senate at first voted that the pretor should write to the consul that they required him to return to Italy. Afterward, on the pretor's assuring them that Servilius would pay no regard to his letter, Publius Sulpicius, being created dictator for the purpose, recalled the consul, by virtue of his superior authority ; and then, with Marcus Servilius, master of the horse, he spent the remainder of the year in going round to the cities which had forfeited their allegiance during the war, and examining into the conduct of each. During the continuance of the truce a hundred transports, with stores, under the convoy of twenty ships of war, sent from Sardinia by Lentulus, the pretor, arrived safe in Africa, without meeting any obstruction either from the enemy or bad weather. Cneius Octavius, who sailed from Sicily with two hundred transports and thirty ships of war, had not the same good fortune. His voyage was prosperous until he came almost within sight of Africa, when the wind at first subsided into a calm ; then springing up heavily from the southwest, his ships were dispersed on all sides. He himself, with the ships of war, struggling through the opposing waves, with excessive toil to the rowers, made the promontory of Apollo: the transports were most of them driven to Ægimurus, an island

stretching across the mouth of the bay on which Carthage stands, distant from the city about thirty miles; the rest towards that part of it where the hot-baths are found. All this happened within view of Carthage, and occasioned a concourse of people from all parts in the forum. The magistrates assembled the senate; the multitude in the porch of the senate-house expressed aloud their uneasiness, lest so great a booty should be allowed to escape out of their hands. Although some objected that their faith was pledged in having sued for peace, others in their having agreed to a truce, and which had not yet expired; yet the assembly, being composed of nearly an equal number of the populace as of senators, came to a resolution that Hasdrubal should go to Ægimurus with a fleet of fifty sail, and proceed from thence to pick up the scattered ships of the Romans in the several harbours and along the coasts. First, the transports from Ægimurus, abandoned by the mariners, who effected their escape, were towed to Carthage; afterward those from the baths.

25. The ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, nor was it known what were the sentiments of the Roman senate concerning war or peace; neither was the term of the truce expired. Scipio, on this account, more highly resented the injury offered by those who had petitioned for peace and the truce; and, considering it as breaking off the negotiations, and an infraction of the truce, he instantly sent Marcus Bæbius, Lucius Sergius, and Lucius Fabius, ambassadors to Carthage. These, having narrowly escaped suffering violence from the populace, and still apprehending themselves exposed to danger, applied to the magistrates, who had protected them from ill treatment, for a guard of ships on their return. Two triremes were assigned them; which, as soon as they came to the river Bagrada, from whence there was a view of the Roman camp, returned to Carthage. There was a Carthaginian fleet stationed at Utica, from which two quadriremes were sent, either in consequence of private orders from Carthage, or Hasdrubal, who commanded that fleet, (for the infraction was unauthorized by the public,) and which suddenly attacked the Roman quinquereme as it came round the promontory. The Carthaginian vessels attempted to strike the Roman with their prows, but which they could not effect by reason of its activity, nor could the fighting men leap from those lower ships into the higher ones. The quinquereme was gallantly defended, as long as weapons lasted. These, however, spent, there was nothing that could save them but the land being near, and the multitude which poured out from the camp to the coast. They therefore pressed forward, using

their utmost efforts with their oars; and running on shore, the men escaped, but the ship was entirely lost. After the truce had been thus broken, by outrage after outrage, Lælius and Fulvius arrived from Rome, with the Carthaginian ambassadors. To these Scipio declared, that "although the Carthaginians had violated not only their faith pledged in the truce, but also the laws of nations respecting ambassadors, yet they should meet with no treatment from him unbecoming the maxims of the Roman people and his own principles;" and thus dismissing them, he prepared for war. Hannibal now drew nigh the land, when one of the sailors was ordered to climb the mast, and discover what part of the country they were arrived at; and on his saying that their course pointed to a ruined sepulchre, the Carthaginian, struck with the ill omen, ordered the pilot to steer past that place, put in his fleet at Leptis, and there disembarked his forces.

26. These were the transactions in Africa during that year; those which follow belong to the period in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who was then master of the horse, and Tiberius Claudius Nero, were consuls. However, towards the end of the former year deputies arrived from the allied cities of Greece. They complained that their lands were ravaged by Philip's garrisons; and that their ambassadors, who had gone into Macedonia to solicit reparation of their injuries, had not been admitted to the presence of the king. At the same time, they gave information that four thousand soldiers, under the command of Sopater, had gone over to Africa, and were marching to the assistance of the Carthaginians; and that some money also had been sent with them; whereon the senate ordered that an embassy should be sent to the king, to acquaint him that the senate considered those proceedings as contrary to the treaty subsisting between them. Caius Terentius Varro, Caius Mamilius, and Marcus Aurelius, were despatched on this business, with an escort of three quinqueres. That year was remarkable for a great fire, by which the buildings on the Publician hill were burned to the ground; and also for an uncommon overflowing of the rivers; but provisions were plentiful, because, in consequence of peace, all parts of Italy were open for importation; and besides, a great quantity of corn, which had been sent from Spain, was delivered out to the inhabitants at the easy rate of four asses a bushel, by the curule ediles, Marcus Valerius Falto and Marcus Fabius Buteo. In the same year died Quintus Fabius Maximus, in extreme old age, if it be true, as some writers affirm, that he had been augur for sixty-two years. He was certainly a man worthy of the great surname which he bore, even if he were the first to whom it was applied. He surpassed his

father, and was equal to his grandfather, in the honourable posts which he filled. His grandfather, Rullus, was distinguished by a greater number of victories, and greater battles; but the actions of Fabius, having such an antagonist as Hannibal, may be considered as equivalent to them all. He was deemed to possess more caution than spirit; but though it may be doubted whether the dilatoriness of his conduct arose from his natural disposition, or from a conviction that it was best suited to the war in which he was engaged, yet nothing is more certain, than that this man alone, as the poet Ennius says, by his delays retrieved our affairs. Quintus Fabius Maximus, his son, was consecrated augur in his place, and Servius Sulpicius Galba pontiff, in his place also; for he held two offices in the college of priests. The Roman games were repeated for one day; the plebeian thrice repeated entire, by the curule ediles, Marcus Sextius Sabinus and Caius Tremellius Flaccus. Both these were elected pretors, and, with them, Caius Livius Salinator and Caius Aurelius Cotta. The different accounts given by writers render it uncertain whether Caius Servilius, consul, presided at the elections that year, or Publius Sulpicius, nominated dictator by him, because he himself was detained in Etruria, being employed, pursuant to a decree of the senate; in holding inquisitions relative to the conspiracies of the principal inhabitants.

27. In the beginning of the following year, [A. U. C. 550. B. C. 202] Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius, summoning the senate to the capitol, consulted them concerning the provinces. Both were desirous of obtaining Africa; they therefore wished that Italy and Africa should be disposed of by lot: but this was opposed, though by Quintus Metellus chiefly. The consuls were ordered to apply to the tribunes, to take the sense of the people as to who should conduct the war in Africa. All the tribes concurred in appointing Publius Scipio. Nevertheless the consuls put the province of Africa to the lot; for so the senate had decreed, and it fell to Tiberius Claudius, who was to carry to Africa a fleet of fifty ships, all quinqueremes, with authority equal to that of Scipio. Marcus Servilius obtained Etruria; and in the same province the command was continued to Caius Servilius, if the senate thought proper that the consul should remain in the city. Of the pretors, Marcus Sextius obtained Gaul, where Publius Quintilius Varus was to deliver to him two legions with the province; Caius Livius, Brutium, with the two legions which Publius Sempronius, proconsul, had commanded the year before; Cneius Tremellius, Sicily, with directions to receive from Publius Villius Tappulus, pretor of the former year, the province and two

regions; Villius, as proprætor, was appointed to protect the coast of Sicily with twenty ships of war and one thousand troops; Marcus Pomponius, to convey from thence to Rome, with the remaining twenty ships, one thousand five hundred soldiers. The city jurisdiction fell to Caius Aurelius Cotta; the rest were continued in their provinces, and with the armies to which they were first appointed. Not more than sixteen legions were employed that year in the service of the empire. In order to conciliate the favour of the gods to all their undertakings and proceedings, it was ordered that the consuls should, before they set out to the campaign, celebrate those games, and with the greater victims, which Titus Manlius, dictator, in the consulate of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quintius, had vowed, provided the commonwealth should for the next five years continue in the same state. The games were exhibited in the circus during four days, and the victims sacrificed to the gods to whom they had been vowed.

28. Meanwhile, both hope and anxiety daily increased in equal proportion; nor could people judge with certainty whether it was a proper subject of rejoicing that Hannibal had, at the end of sixteen years, departed from Italy, and thereby left the possession of it open to the Roman people, or whether they had not rather cause of fear in his having carried his army safe into Africa. They considered that, although the place was "changed, the danger was still the same: that Quintus Fabius, lately deceased, who foretold the violence of this struggle, had grounds for what he farther presaged, namely, that Hannibal would prove a more formidable enemy in his own country than he had been in a foreign one. Scipio," he said, "would not have to deal with Syphax, a king of undisciplined barbarians, whose army had been sometimes commanded by Statorius, a man but little elevated above the condition of a slave; nor with such a dastardly general as his father-in-law Hasdrubal; nor with tumultuary armies, hastily collected out of a crowd of armed rustics,—but with Hannibal, a general of the greatest bravery; brought up from his infancy in the midst of arms; in his childhood a soldier; when scarcely arrived at the age of youth, a general; who had advanced to an old age through a course of victories; had filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy, from the Alps to the strait, with monuments of his mighty achievements; who was at the head of an army equally experienced in service with himself, hardened by having gone through every kind of difficulty, even beyond what men could be supposed to endure; which had been stained, numberless times, with Roman blood, and had carried with them the spoils, not only of Roman soldiers, but of Roman command-

ers: that many would meet Scipio in battle who, with their own hands, had slain pretors, generals, and consuls; who, in fine, were decorated with the highest military honours, accustomed as they were to ravage camps and the cities of Italy; and that the magistrates of the Roman people were not in possession of such a number of fasces as Hannibal could have carried before him, of those which had been taken from the generals who had fallen by his arms." While their thoughts were employed in these discouraging considerations, their anxiety and fears were farther aggravated by other circumstances; for after being accustomed during several years to wage war in different parts of Italy, without any sanguine hopes or prospect of its speedy conclusion, Scipio and Hannibal, champions matched as it were for the final decision, had now raised their eagerest attention. Even those who had the greatest confidence in Scipio, and the strongest hopes of victory, the nearer they saw the completion of their wishes, the more was their solicitude heightened. In a similar manner were the minds of the Carthaginians affected; who, when they turned their eyes on Hannibal, and the greatness of his exploits, repented that they had sued for peace. Then recollecting that they had been twice vanquished in battle; that Syphax had been made prisoner; that they had been expelled from Spain; and finally, that they had been obliged to quit Italy for the defence of their own shores; and that all this had been effected by the valour and conduct of Scipio alone, they looked on him with terror, as a leader whose birth the fates had ordained for their destruction.

29. Hannibal in the mean time arrived at Hadrumetum, and spent a few days there in refreshing his soldiers after the fatigues of the voyage; when, roused by the alarming accounts that all the country round Carthage was possessed by the enemy's troops, he advanced by long marches to Zama, which lies at the distance of five days' journey from that city. Some spies whom he sent out, being intercepted by the Roman guards, and brought to Scipio, he gave them in charge to the military tribunes, with orders to conduct them through the camp, wherever they chose: he encouraged them to lay aside fear, and view every thing; and then, inquiring whether they had taken a satisfactory view of every particular, he gave them an escort back to Hannibal. Hannibal received no pleasure from any of their accounts.—They informed him that Masinissa happened to arrive that very day with six thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and he was particularly struck by the confidence of the enemy, which, he well knew, was not conceived without reason. Wherefore, although he was himself the cause of the

war, and had, by his coming, occasioned the violation of the truce, and the breaking off the negotiations; yet, thinking that he might obtain more reasonable terms, by suing for peace while his strength was entire, than after being discomfited, he sent a message to Scipio, requesting a conference. Whether he took this step on his own judgment or by the order of the government, I cannot take on me to affirm. Valerius Antias says that after he had been defeated by Scipio in the first engagement, in which twelve thousand fighting men were slain, and one thousand seven hundred taken, he came as ambassador, with ten others, into the camp to Scipio. Scipio did not decline the conference; and the two generals, by concert, moved forward their camps, in order that they might the more conveniently meet. Scipio sat down at a small distance from the city Nedagara, in a spot every way commodious, besides having water within a javelin's cast: Hannibal took possession of a hill, four miles distant; safe and convenient in all respects, except that there was no water near. In the space between them a spot was chosen open to view on all sides, that there might be no room for treachery.

30. Their armed attendants having retired to an equal distance on both sides, here met (each attended by a single interpreter) the two greatest generals, not only of the age they lived in, but of all who have been recorded in any former time, and equal to any of the kings or commanders of any nations whatever. On sight of each other they both stood for some time silent, struck dumb as it were by mutual admiration. At length Hannibal began thus: "Since it has been so ordered by fate, that I, who first commenced hostilities against the Roman people, and have so often been on the point of making a conquest of them, should voluntarily come to sue for peace, I am glad that it is to you, rather than to any other person, that I am to apply. On your part, too, among the many illustrious events of your life, it ought not to be reckoned the least glorious, that Hannibal, to whom the gods granted victory over so many Roman generals, has yielded to you; and that you put an end to this war, which was first rendered remarkable by the calamities of your country, before it was so by those of ours. Here also we may observe the sport of fortune in the disposal of events, that, in the consulate of your father, I took up arms. He was the first Roman general with whom I engaged in battle, and to his son I now come unarmed to solicit peace. It were indeed above all things to be wished that the gods had so disposed the minds of our fathers, that your countrymen had been contented with the dominion of Italy, and ours with that of Africa; for, even on your side, Sicily and Sardinia

[illegible]

are not an adequate compensation for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many excellent generals. But what is past, however it may be blamed, cannot be retrieved. Our attempts on the possessions of others have ended in our being necessitated to fight in defence of our own. Thus we not only brought war home to you in Italy, but to ourselves in Africa. You beheld the arms and ensigns of an enemy almost within your gates and on your walls; and we now, from the ramparts of Carthage, hear the din of a Roman camp. The event, therefore, for which we ought most earnestly to pray, and you to wish, above all things, now comes in view: you are negotiating a peace in the midst of a successful career. We who negotiate are the persons most interested in its establishment, and whose stipulations, whatever they may be, will certainly be ratified by our respective states. We want nothing but a disposition not averse from pacific counsels. For my part, so much instruction have I received from age, returning now an old man to my country, which I left a boy, and also both from prosperity and adversity, that I wish to follow reason rather than fortune. But your early time of life and uninterrupted flow of prosperity, both apt to inspire a degree of warmth ill suited to peaceful plans, excite in my mind very serious apprehensions. He whom fortune has never deceived, rarely considers the uncertainty of future events. What I was at Thrasymenus and at Cannæ, that you are at present. Appointed to a command at an age scarcely fit for service, though your enterprises were of the boldest nature, you were ever successful. By avenging the death of your father and uncle, you acquired a distinguished character for uncommon bravery and filial duty. You recovered Spain, which had been lost, and drove out of it four Carthaginian armies. On being elected consul, while others wanted spirit sufficient to defend Italy, you passed into Africa, and by there destroying two armies, by taking and burning two camps in one hour, by making a captive of Syphax, a most powerful king, and by seizing on so many of his cities, and so many of ours, you compelled me to relinquish the possession of Italy, which I had continued to hold for sixteen years. Perhaps your wishes tend rather to conquest than to peace. I know the spirit of you Romans, that it ever aims at grand rather than useful objects. Fortune once shone on me with the same benign countenance. But if, along with prosperity, the gods would grant us a sound judgment, we should consider not only what had already happened, but what may possibly happen hereafter. Although you should forget all other instances, I am a sufficient example of every kind of fortune. Me, whom you formerly saw pitching my camp between the

Anio and your city, and on the point of scaling the walls of Rome, you now behold here, under the walls of my native city, which is threatened with a siege; deprived of my two brothers, generals of consummate skill and valour; deprecating, in behalf of my own city, those calamities by which formerly I struck terror into yours. The most exalted state of fortune is ever the least to be relied on. A peace concluded at a juncture wherein your affairs flourish, and ours are distressed, reflects splendour and dignity on you who grant it: to us who request it, it is rather necessary than honourable. A certain peace is better and safer than a victory in expectation: the former is in your own disposal, the latter in that of the gods. Risk not, on the chance of one hour, the happy successes of so many years. When you consider your own strength, recollect, at the same time, the chances of war. Arms there will be on both sides; but, on both sides, the bodies that contend will be but human. Events less correspond to men's expectations in war, than in any other case whatever. Even supposing that you should gain the victory in battle, the proportion of glory which you would thereby acquire, in addition to what you may now securely enjoy on granting peace, would be by no means commensurate to that which you must lose, should any misfortune happen to you. The chance of but a single hour may destroy at once both the honours which you have attained, and those for which you hope. In the adjusting of matters, every thing, Publius Scipio, will be in your own power; in the other case, you must abide by the pleasure of the gods. Formerly, Marcus Atilius, in this same land, would have been celebrated among the few most extraordinary examples of bravery and success, had he, when possessed of victory, granted peace to the request of our fathers; but by setting no bounds to his ambition, by laying no restraint on his passions; in proportion to the height of glory to which he had attained, was his fall dishonourable. Certainly it is his right who grants peace, not his who sues for it, to prescribe the terms; yet, perhaps, we might not be deemed altogether inadequate to the estimation of what degree of punishment should be inflicted on us. We are ready to give up to you the possession of all those places, on account of which the war was begun: Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, with all the islands that lie in any part of the sea between Africa and Italy. Let us Carthaginians, confined within the shores of Africa, behold you, since such is the will of the gods, extending your sovereignty, both by land and sea, over foreign realms. I am far from denying that you have some reason to distrust the faith of the Carthaginians, on account of the insincerity which they showed in their solicitations, and in not waiting the is-

sue of the negotiation. Scipio, the security of a peace being observed depends much on the character of those who sue for it. Your senate, I hear, refused to grant it, partly from the consideration that the persons employed in the embassy were not sufficiently respectable. Hannibal sues for peace, who would not sue for it unless he thought it expedient; and who on account of the same expediency which induces him to sue for it, will also maintain it. And as because the war was begun by me, I took effectual care, until the gods themselves declared against me, that my countrymen should have no reason to complain of it, so will I exert my utmost endeavours to make them satisfied with a peace procured by any means."

31. The Roman general answered to this effect: "Hannibal, it was not unknown to me that their expectation of your arrival was what urged the Carthaginians to violate the truce subsisting, and to break off the treaty of peace. Nor do you dissemble it; as you deduct from the former conditions every particular, except those which are, for some time past, in our own power. But as you are solicitous that your countrymen should understand how great a burden they are relieved from by your means, so it is my business to endeavour that they shall not now retract the concessions which they then agreed to make, and enjoy what they then ceded, as a reward of their perfidy. Unworthy of being allowed the same terms, you require additional advantages in consequence of your treachery. Neither were our fathers the aggressors in the war of Sicily, nor we in that of Spain. In the former case, the danger of their allies the Mamertines; in the latter, the destruction of Saguntum, armed us in the cause of justice and duty. That you were the aggressors, you yourself acknowledge; and the gods bear witness to it, who directed the issue of the former war according to equity, and who are now directing, and will bring the present to the same issue. As to myself, I am sensible of the instability of human affairs; I am mindful of the power of fortune, and I know that all our undertakings are subject to a thousand casualties. But as, on the other hand, if you were retiring from Italy of your own accord, and, after embarking your troops, were come to solicit peace; if in that case I refused to listen to you, I should acknowledge that I behaved with pride and arrogance: so, on the other hand, now that I have dragged you into Africa, in spite of every effort which you used to prevent it, I am not bound to show you any particular respect. If, therefore, in addition to the terms on which it was then intended to conclude a peace, (and with which you are acquainted,) a full compensation be proposed for hav-

ing seized our ships and stores during the subsistence of a truce, and for the insult offered my ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if this also seem severe, prepare for war, since you must be insincere in proposing peace." Thus, without coming to any accommodation, they retired to their respective armies, and informed them that words had been tried to no purpose, that the business must be decided by arms, and they must abide the fortune which the gods should allot them.

32. Arrived at their camps, both gave orders to their soldiers to "get ready their arms, and call forth their courage, for a decisive contest; in which, if success attended them, they would secure a superiority, not for a day, but for ever. That it would be seen before to-morrow night, whether Rome or Carthage was to give laws to all nations: for not Africa, nor Italy, but the world, was to be the prize of victory: while the calamities to those who should be overcome were proportionate to the prize;" for as, on the one hand, the Romans had no chance of escaping in a foreign, and to them unknown, country; so, on the other, Carthage, having exhausted her last resources, seemed to be threatened with immediate ruin. Next day advanced two by far the most illustrious generals, and two most puissant armies, of the two most powerful states; to complete the splendid fabric of glory which they had erected, and which each was desirous of securing to himself. The minds of all were anxiously suspended between hope and fear; and, while they viewed at one time their own, at another the enemy's army, estimating their powers either by the eye or judgment, they met with objects both of encouragement and of dread. Such as did not occur to their own thoughts were suggested by the generals in their admonitions and exhortations. The Carthaginian recounted the exploits of sixteen years in the heart of Italy; so many Roman generals, so many armies, utterly destroyed; and when he came to any soldier who had been distinguished for his behaviour in a former battle, he reminded him of the honours which he had received. Scipio called to his men's recollection Spain, the late engagements in Africa, and the acknowledgment of the enemy, that they had been compelled by their fears to sue for peace; which, yet, the natural perfidy of their disposition would not allow them to establish. He related also his conference with Hannibal; which, as it had passed in secret, he might have misrepresented at his pleasure. He mentioned, as an encouraging omen, that, as they were coming out to battle, the gods had shown them the same portents, under the auspices of which their fathers had fought at the islands Ægates. "The end of the war

and of all their toils," he said, "was now at hand; they had within their reach the plunder of Carthage; and might speedily return home to their country, to their parents, their children, their wives, and their household gods." These words he uttered in an erect attitude, and with a countenance so animated with joy, that he seemed as if he had already obtained the victory.

33. He then drew up the spearmen in the van, behind them the first-rank men, and closed the rear with the veterans. He did not, as usual, form the cohorts in close order, each before their own colours, but placed the companies at some distance from each other; that there might be room to admit the elephants of the enemy, without disturbing the ranks. Lælius, who formerly served under him as lieutenant-general, but that year as questor, by particular appointment, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, he posted with the Italian cavalry on the left wing; Masinissa and the Numidians on the right. The openings between the companies of the cohorts he filled up with light-armed troops, and gave them directions on the attack of the elephants, either to retire to the rear of the files, or, opening to right and left, to form along with the cohorts, so as to leave a passage for those beasts, through which they might advance exposed on both sides to their weapons. Hannibal, in order to strike terror, placed his elephants in the front; of these there were eighty, (a number greater than he had ever before brought into the field;) next to them the auxiliary Lignrians and Gauls, with the Balearians and Moors intermixed. In the second line he placed the Carthaginians, Africans, and the legion of Macedonians; and then leaving a moderate interval, he formed the line of reserve, consisting of Italian soldiers, chiefly Bruttians, a greater number of whom followed him on his departure from Italy by compulsion and through necessity, rather than from inclination. He also covered the flanks with cavalry, the Carthaginians being posted on the right, the Numidians on the left. Various were the methods of encouragement made use of among such a number of men, differing from each other in language, in manners, in laws, in arms, in garb, in temper, and in their motives for engaging in the service. To the auxiliaries was held out present gain, and that to be greatly increased by future plunder. The Gauls were inflamed by rousing their peculiar and natural hatred to the Romans. To the Ligurians, who had been brought down from craggy mountains, the fertile plains of Italy were pointed out as the reward of success. The Moors and Numidians he terrified with the prospect of cruel tyranny under Masinissa. Different objects of hope and fear were

proposed to each ; but to the Carthaginians, nothing but extremes, either on the side of hope or of fear, was presented to view ; the walls of their native city, their household gods, the sepulchres of their ancestors, their children, parents, and wives, distracted with terror ; in a word, utter ruin and abject slavery, or the empire of the world. While the general was thus employed among the Carthaginians, and the commanders of the several nations among their respective countrymen (many of them speaking by interpreters, being intermixed with foreigners,) the trumpets and cornets sounded on the side of the Romans ; and such a shout was raised, that the elephants, particularly in the left wing, turned about against their own men, the Moors and Numidians. Masinissa, charging them while in disorder, easily drove them in, and stripped their line on that flank of the cover of the cavalry. However, a few of these beasts unaffrighted, being driven forward on the Romans, made great slaughter among the light troops, but not without receiving many wounds ; for springing back to the companies, and to avoid being trodden under foot, opening a passage for the elephants, they discharged their spears at them from both sides, being entirely exposed as they passed through ; nor did the javelins from the first line of troops cease until, being driven away from the Roman line by the weapons showered on them, they put to flight even the Carthaginian cavalry in their own right wing. Lælius, seeing the enemy in this confusion, charged their disordered troops ; and put them to flight.

34. The Carthaginian line was exposed on both flanks, not having cavalry to cover them, when the infantry began to engage ; but no longer on an equality with the Roman, either in hope or in strength. There was another circumstance, which, though trifling in appearance, is yet of great consequence in action. The shout on the side of the Romans was composed of the same sounds uttered by every one ; consequently it was the stronger and more terrible : on the other side, the sounds were dissonant, uttered in the discordant languages of many different nations. Besides, the Roman manner of fighting was steady, being accustomed to press against the enemy with their own weight, and that of their arms. That of the Carthaginian was more loose, with greater agility than strength. Immediately, therefore, at the first onset, the Romans made the line of the enemy give way ; and then, thrusting against them with their elbows and the bosses of their shields, and stepping forward into the place from which they had pushed them, they rapidly gained ground. The rear ranks also, on perceiving the enemy's line shrink, pushed forward those who were before them,

which greatly increased their force in repelling the enemy. On the other side, the Africans and Carthaginians, so far from supporting the auxiliaries, who were giving way, drew back; fearing lest, if that first line made an obstinate resistance, the enemy, in cutting through those, might close with them. The auxiliaries therefore quickly turned their backs, and facing about to their own party, some of them retreated into the second line; others, who were not received there, made use of their arms against them, enraged at not having been supported before, and at being now excluded. So that there were, in a manner, two battles carried on together; the Carthaginians being obliged to engage in fight, and at the same time, both with their mercenaries and with the Romans. They did not, however, admit those craven soldiers into their line, which was still firm and fresh; but, closing the ranks, drove them off to the wings, and to the open plains round the field of battle. The place where the auxiliaries had lately stood was filled up with such a number of slain, and such a quantity of arms, that it was rather more difficult to make way through them, than it had been through the body of troops; the spearmen, however, who were in the van, pursuing the enemy, as each could find a passage through the heaps of carcasses, and weapons, and streams of blood, disordered both their battalions and ranks. The battalions of the first-rank men also, seeing the line before them in confusion, began to waver; which, as soon as Scipio observed, he instantly ordered a retreat to be sounded for the spearmen, and carrying off the wounded to the rear, brought up the first-rank men and veterans to the wings, in order that the line of the spearmen in the centre might be the more secure and firm. Thus was a new battle begun; for they had now come up to their real antagonists, who were on an equality with them, both in respect to the kind of arms which they used, of their experience in war, the fame of their exploits, and the greatness both of their hopes and dangers. But the Romans had the advantage in number, and also in spirit, as having already routed the cavalry and the elephants, and, after having defeated the first line, engaging now with the second.

35. Lælius and Masinissa, who had pursued the flying cavalry to some distance, returning at this critical juncture, fell on the rear of the enemy; and by this charge effectually routed them. Many were surrounded in the field and slain; many, being dispersed in flight through the open country adjoining, where the cavalry were entirely masters, perished in various places. Of the Carthaginians and their allies, there were slain on that day above twenty thousand; about the same number were taken, with a hundred and thirty-

three military standards, and eleven elephants. Of the conquerors, there fell two thousand. Hannibal, escaping during the confusion with a few horsemen, fled to Hadrumetum, having left no effort untried to rally his troops before he left the field. Scipio himself, and all who were skilled in the military art, allowed him the merit of having made the disposition of his forces with singular judgment; placing the elephants in the front, in order that their ungoverned onset and insupportable violence might put it out of the power of the Romans to follow their ensigns, and preserve their ranks, in which they placed their chief confidence; then the auxiliaries, before the line of Carthaginians, in order that these men, made up of the refuse of all nations, who were retained in their duty, not by any sense of honour, but by gain, should have no prospect of safety in flight, and at the same time should stand the first brunt and fury of the foe, that if they did no other service, they might at least be as shields to blunt their swords: next, the Carthaginian and African soldiers, in whom lay all his hopes, in order that they, being equal in all respects with the Romans, might have the advantage of engaging fresh against men fatigued and wounded; separating the Italians at some distance from the rest, and placing them in the rear, as he knew not with certainty whether they were friends or foes. Hannibal, after exerting this last effort of bravery, having fled to Hadrumetum, on receiving a summons, returned to Carthage in the thirty-sixth year after he had left it, and when a boy. He acknowledged, in the senate-house, that he was vanquished not only in the recent battle, but in the whole of the war; and that there was no other hope of avoiding ruin, but in obtaining peace.

36. Immediately after the battle, Scipio having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, returned with immense booty to the sea-coast to his fleet, having received an account that Publius Lentulus was arrived at Utica with fifty ships of war, a hundred transports, and stores of all kinds. With a view, therefore, of increasing the consternation at Carthage, by showing them objects of terror on every side, after despatching Lælius to Rome with news of the victory, he ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the legions to that city by land; and, joining the fleet of Lentulus, lately arrived, with his own which he had before, he himself, setting sail from Utica, steered for the harbour of Carthage. When he had arrived within a small distance, he was met by a Carthaginian ship, dressed with fillets and branches of olive, on board of which were ten ambassadors, the chief men of the state, sent by the advice of Hannibal to sue for peace. These coming under the stern of the general's ship, holding out the

badges of supplicants, besought and implored the favour and compassion of Scipio; but they received no other answer, than that they should come to Tunes, to which place he intended to remove his camp. Then, after taking a view of the situation of Carthage, not so much for the sake of any present use which he intended to make of his knowledge of it, as of dispiriting the enemy; he returned to Utica, and at the same time recalled Octavius thither. As they advanced towards Tunes, an account was brought that Vermina, son of Syphax, with a greater number of horse than of foot, was coming to the aid of the Carthaginians. A detachment of the army, with all the cavalry, attacking this body of Numidians on their march, on the first day of the Saturnalia, routed them without much difficulty; and every possibility of flight being cut off by the surrounding cavalry, fifteen thousand men were slain, one thousand two hundred taken, together with fifteen hundred horses, and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself, with very few attendants, made his escape during the tumult. The camp was then pitched near Tunes, in the same place as before, whither thirty ambassadors came from Carthage to Scipio, and the behaviour of these was much more calculated to excite compassion than that of the former, as their distress was still increasing. But, from the recollection of their late perfidy, they were heard with the less pity. In the council, though all were stimulated by just resentment to pursue Carthage to destruction, yet, when they considered how great an undertaking it was, and what a length of time the siege of a city, so strong and so well fortified, would require, (Scipio himself also being uneasy, under the apprehension of a successor being appointed in his place, who might claim the glory of having terminated the war, though it had been actually brought to an issue by the labours and dangers of another,) they all became inclined to peace.

37. The next day the ambassadors being again called, and, with severe rebukes for their perfidy, admonished, that, instructed by so many calamities, they should at length be convinced of the regard due to the gods, and to an oath, these terms of peace were prescribed to them:—"That they should live free under their own laws, should enjoy the possession of whatever cities, whatever territories, and whatever boundaries they possessed before the war; and that the Roman general would, on that day, put an end to the devastation of their country. That they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, fugitives, and prisoners; and should surrender their ships of war, except ten, together with all their trained elephants, and should not train any more. That they should wage no war, either in, or out of

Africa, without the permission of the Roman people; should make restitution to Masinissa, and conclude a treaty with him; should supply corn and pay to the auxiliaries, until their ambassadors should return from Rome. That they should pay, within fifty years, ten thousand talents of silver,* by equal payments, according to a mode laid down in writing, and should give a hundred hostages, to be approved of by Scipio, none younger than fourteen years or older than thirty. That he would grant them a truce on this condition: that the transports which had been captured during the former truce, together with their cargoes, be restored: if this were not complied with, they were not to expect either truce or peace." When the ambassadors, who were sent home with these conditions, reported them in an assembly of the people, Gisgo having stood forth to dissuade them from accepting the terms, and being listened to by the multitude, who were as impatient of quiet as unfit for war, Hannibal, filled with indignation on finding objections made and listened to at such a juncture, laid hold of Gisgo with his hand, and pulled him down from the place on which he stood. When this sight, unusual in a free state, raised a murmur among the citizens, he being accustomed to military manners, and disconcerted by their reception of him, said to them: "At nine years of age I left this city, at the end of the thirty-sixth I have returned. The rules of war, I think, I perfectly understand, having from my childhood been continually supplied with opportunities of learning them, at some times by the state of my own affairs, at others, by that of the public. The privileges, laws, and manners of the city, and of the forum, you ought to teach me." Having thus apologized for his imprudence, he spoke at large concerning the peace, showing how necessary it was, and that the terms were not unreasonable. The greatest difficulty of all was that of the fleet, which had been captured during the truce; nothing was to be found but the ships themselves, nor was it easy to collect the effects; those who were charged with having them in their possession making opposition to all that was proposed. It was at length resolved, that the ships should be restored, that the men at all events should be collected, and that the other matters which could not be produced, should be left to the valuation of Scipio, according to which the Carthaginians should make compensation in money. Some say that Hannibal, having gone from the field to the sea-coast, sailed immediately in a ship which had been prepared, and went to King Antiochus; and that when Scipio made it a principal demand that Han-

*1,437,500*l.*

nibal should be given up to him, he was told that Hannibal had quitted Africa.

38. On the return of the ambassadors to Scipio, the questors were ordered to give in a return, extracted from the public accounts, of the public property which had been on board the ships; and the owners to make a return of the private property: for the amount of the value, twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver were required to be immediately paid, and a truce for three months was granted to the Carthaginians. A clause was added, that during the truce, they should not send ambassadors to any other place than to Rome; and that if any such should come to Carthage, they should not dismiss them until the Roman general was made acquainted with their business. With the Carthaginian ambassadors were sent to Rome Lucius Veturius Philo, Marcus Ralla, and Lucius Scipio, the general's brother.—From that time the great supplies from Sicily and Sardinia caused such cheapness of provisions, that the merchant often furnished corn to the mariners for the freight. At Rome there had been some uneasiness on the first account of the Carthaginians having recommenced hostilities, and Tiberius Claudius had been ordered to conduct the fleet to Sicily with all expedition, and to pass over from thence to Carthage; and the other consul, Marcus Servilius, to remain in the city, until the state of affairs in Africa should be known. Tiberius Claudius proceeded slowly in every step towards the equipment and sailing of the fleet, being offended at the senate having voted that Scipio, in preference to the consul, should have the honour of prescribing the terms of peace. Accounts of prodigies also, arriving a little before the news of the revival of hostilities, had raised people's apprehensions. At Cumæ, the orb of the sun seemed to be diminished, and a shower of stones fell; and in the district of Veliturnum, the earth sunk in great chasms, in which trees were swallowed. At Aricia, the forum, and shops round it; at Frusino, several parts of the wall, and a gate, were struck by lightning. On the Palatine hill, too, a shower of stones fell. This prodigy, according to the method handed down by tradition, was expiated by a nine days' solemnity; the others by the greater victims. Among the rest, an unusual overflowing of the rivers was also considered as a prodigy; for there was such an inundation of the Tiber, that, the circus being filled with water, preparations for the games of Apollo were made on the outside of the Colline gate, near the temple of Venus Erycina. But on the very day of the games, the weather suddenly clearing up, the procession, which had begun to advance towards the Colline gate, was recalled, and conducted to the circus, on its being known

that the water had retired from thence. Its own proper place being thus restored to this solemn exhibition, gave much joy to the people, and added considerably to the splendour of the games.

39. The consul Claudius, having at last set out from the city, was overtaken by a violent storm between the ports of Cosa and Laureta, and brought into imminent danger; however, having got as far as Populonii, where he continued until a change of weather, he proceeded to the island Ilva; from Ilva to Corsica, and from thence to Sardinia. There, as he was sailing by the Mad Mountains, a still more furious tempest surprised him, and dispersed his fleet. Many ships were damaged, and lost their rigging, and several were wrecked. In this harassed and shattered condition, the fleet arrived at Carales, where the winter came on them, while they were employed in docking and repairing the ships.—Meanwhile the year coming to a conclusion, and it not being proposed to continue him in command, Tiberius Claudius, after he had ceased to hold any public office, brought home the fleet. Marcus Servilius, having nominated Caius Servilius Geminus dictator, lest he might be recalled on account of the elections, set out for his province. The dictator named Publius Ælius Pætus master of the horse. The elections, though many days were appointed for the purpose, were still prevented by storms; so that the magistrates of the former year going out of office, on the day preceding the ides of March, and no successors being appointed, the state was without curule magistrates. Lucius Manlius Torquatus, a pontiff, died that year; in his place was substituted Caius Sulpicius Galba. The Roman games were thrice repeated entire by the curule ediles, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius. Some of the inferior officers belonging to the ediles, being convicted, on the testimony of a discoverer, of having secretly conveyed money out of the treasury, were condemned, not without reflecting dishonour on the edile Lucullus. Publius Ælius Tubero and Lucius Lætorius, plebeian ediles, on some irregularity being discovered in their election, abdicated their office, after they had celebrated the games, and, on occasion thereof, a feast to Jupiter; having also erected in the capitol three images, formed of silver-raised by fines. The dictator and master of the horse, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, celebrated the games of Ceres.

40. When the Roman deputies, together with the Carthaginian ambassadors, were come to Rome from Africa, the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. Lucius Veturius Philo acquainted them, (to the great joy of the fathers,) that a battle had been fought with Hannibal, in which the

Carthaginians were finally overpowered, and an end put at last to that disastrous war; he added, as a small accession to that great and happy event, that Vermina, son of Syphax, had also been vanquished. He was then ordered to go out to the general assembly, and to communicate the joyful news to the people. On this, after mutual congratulations, a public thanksgiving being ordered, all the temples in the city were thrown open, and a supplication for three days decreed. The ambassadors of the Carthaginians, and of King Philip, for they also had arrived, requesting an audience of the senate, the dictator answered, by order of the fathers, that the new consuls would procure them an audience. The elections were then held. [A.U.C. 551. B.C. 201.] The consuls elected were Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Ælius Pætus; the pretors, Marcus Junius Pennus, to whom the city jurisdiction fell; Marcus Valerius Falso acquired by lot Bruttium; Marcus Fabius Buteo, Sardinia; Publius Ælius Tubero, Sicily. With respect to the provinces of the consuls, it was determined that nothing should be done until the ambassadors of King Philip and the Carthaginians were heard; for it was plainly foreseen that the conclusion of the one war would be quickly followed by the commencement of another. The consul Cneius Lentulus was inflamed with a strong desire of obtaining the province of Africa; having in view either an easy conquest, or, if it were now to be concluded, the glory of terminating so great a war in his consulate. He declared, therefore, that he would not suffer any business to be done until Africa were decreed to him; for his colleague declined putting in his claim for it, being a moderate, prudent man, who perceived that a contest with Scipio for that honour, besides being unjust, would be also unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the people, said, that "Cneius Cornelius was endeavouring to carry a point which had been attempted in vain, the year before, by the consul Tiberius Claudius: that, by the direction of the senate, the question had been proposed to the people respecting the command in Africa, and that the thirty-five tribes unanimously decreed that command to Publius Scipio." The affair, after being canvassed with much heat both in the senate and in the assembly of the people, was at last brought to this conclusion, that it should be left to the determination of the former. The fathers, therefore, on oath, for so it had been agreed, voted that the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots for their provinces, which of them should have Italy, and which a fleet of fifty ships. That he to whose lot it fell to command the fleet should sail to Sicily; and if peace could not be concluded with the Carthaginians.

should pass over from thence to Africa, where he the said consul should command at sea, and Scipio on land, with the same extent of authority as heretofore. If the terms of peace should be agitated, that then the tribunes should take the opinion of the people, whether they would order the consul or Publius Scipio to settle those terms, and if the victorious army was to be conducted home, whom they would order to do it. If they should order the peace to be granted by Publius Scipio, and the army also to be brought home by him, that then the consul should not cross over from Sicily to Africa. That the other consul, to whose lot Italy fell, should receive two legions from Marcus Sextius, pretor.

41. Publius Scipio's command in the province of Africa was prolonged, with the armies which he then had. To Marcus Valerius Falto, pretor, were decreed the two legions in Bruttium, which Caius Livius had commanded the preceding year. Publius Ælius, pretor, was to receive two legions in Sicily from Cneius Tremellius. One legion, which had been under Publius Lentulus, proprætor, was decreed to Marcus Fabius, for Sardinia. The command in Etruria was continued to Marcus Servilius, consul of the former year, with his own two legions. With regard to Spain, the senate ordered, that whereas Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus had remained in that country for several years, the consuls should therefore make application to the tribunes, that, if they thought proper, they should ask the people, whom they would order to have charge in Spain; and that the person so ordered should collect such a number of Romans out of the two armies as would make up one legion, and as many of the allies of the Latine confederacy as would form fifteen cohorts; with which he should conduct the business of the province; and that Lucius Cornelius and Lucius Manlius shall lead home the veteran soldiers to Italy. To the consul Cornelius was decreed a squadron of fifty ships out of the two fleets, one of which was under Cneius Octavius in Africa, the other under Publius Vellius, guarding the coast of Sicily; with liberty to take such of those vessels as he might please. It was also decreed that Publius Scipio should keep the fifty ships of war on his station as before; and that if Cneius Octavius chose to continue in the command of these as heretofore, he should have it for that year as proprætor: that if Lælius should be set at the head of the fleet, then Octavius should return to Rome, and bring home such ships as the præconsul had not occasion for. Ten ships of war were also decreed to Marcus Fabius for Sardinia; and the consuls were ordered to enlist two legions for the city, so that the state

should have in its service, for that year, fourteen legions, and one hundred and ten ships of war.

42. The next business attended to, was that of the envoys of Philip and the Carthaginians. It was thought proper that the Macedonians should be first introduced. Their discourse comprehended a variety of subjects: they first endeavoured to clear themselves of those matters of which the ambassadors sent from Rome to the king had complained, relative to the depredations committed on the allies. Then, on their part, they remonstrated on the conduct of the allies of the Romans, and particularly on that of Marcus Aurelius, who, they said, being one of the three ambassadors sent to them, had stayed behind the rest, levied soldiers, committed hostilities against them, and fought several pitched battles with their commanders. They afterward demanded that the Macedonians, and their captain, Sopater, who had served for pay under Hannibal, and having been made prisoners were still detained, might be restored to them. In opposition to this, Marcus Furius, who had been sent from Macedonia to Aurelius for the purpose, asserted that "Aurelius had been directed to take care, lest the allies, wearied out by insults and depredations, should go over to the king: that he had not gone beyond the boundaries of the confederated states, but had endeavoured to prevent devastations being committed with impunity within their territories: that Sopater was one of the king's particular favourites, one of those distinguished with the purple: and that he had been lately sent with four thousand men and a sum of money into Africa, to the assistance of Hannibal and the Carthaginians."—The Macedonians being interrogated on these points, and not giving any clear answers, the senate, without farther discussion, told them that "the king was seeking war; and, if he persisted, would quickly find it. That the treaty had been doubly violated by him: first, in offering injury to the allies of the Roman people, assaulting them in open hostilities; secondly, in assisting their enemies with troops and money. That Publius Scipio had acted, and was acting properly and regularly, in treating as foes, and throwing into confinement, those who were taken in arms against the Roman people; and that Marcus Aurelius did his duty to the state, and in a manner agreeable to the senate, in protecting the allies of the Roman people by arms, since he could not do it by the authority of the treaty." The Macedonians being dismissed with this severe answer, the Carthaginian ambassadors were called; on sight of whose ages and dignities, every one was ready to observe that they were now in earnest in their application for peace, for that those were by far the most respectable persons of their nation.

Hasdrubal (by his countrymen surnamed Hædus) was distinguished above the rest, having always recommended peace, and opposed the Barcine faction. On that account great attention was paid to him, when he transferred the blame of the war from the state on the ambition of a few. After discoursing on various heads, at one time refuting charges which had been made against them; at another, acknowledging some, lest, by denying what was manifestly true, he might render forgiveness more difficult; and then going so far as to admonish the conscript fathers to show mildness and moderation in prosperity, he added, that "if the Carthaginians had listened to him and Hanno, and made a proper use of occurrences as they happened, they would have been in a condition of prescribing terms, instead of begging a peace, as they now did: but men were seldom blessed with good fortune and a good understanding at the same time. That the Roman people were therefore invincible, because, when successful, they never lost sight of the maxims of wisdom and prudence; and, indeed, it would have been surprising had they acted otherwise; while those who are unaccustomed to success, unable to restrain their transports, run into extravagance. To the Roman people, the joy of victory was now habitual, and almost a matter of course; and they had enlarged their empire more by their lenity to the vanquished, than by their victories." The discourse of the others was more calculated to excite compassion: they represented, "to what a low state, from an exalted height, the affairs of the Carthaginians had fallen. That they who had lately extended the power of their arms over almost all the world, had now little left them except the walls of Carthage. Shut up within these, they could see nothing, either on land or sea, that they could call their own. Even of the city itself, and of their inhabitants, they had no other tenure, than the Romans not choosing to wreak their vengeance on those also, when no other object for it now remained." When it appeared that the fathers were moved by compassion, one of the senators, it is said, incensed at the perfidy of the Carthaginians, called out to them, and asked, "What gods they would now invoke as witnesses in the pending treaty, having broken faith with those in whose name the former one was concluded?" "The same," said Hasdrubal, "who now show such resentment against the violaters of treaties."

43. The minds of all inclining to peace, Cneius Lentulus, consul, whose province was the fleet, protested against the senate passing a decree. On which the tribunes Manius Acilius and Quintus Manucius, put the question to the people, "Whether they would choose and order the senate to

decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians; whom they would order to grant peace, and whom to conduct the armies home from Africa?" All the tribes unanimously passed the question as it was put, and ordered Publius Scipio to grant the peace, and also to conduct the armies home. In consequence of this order of the people, the senate decreed that Publius Scipio, in consort with the ten ambassadors, should conclude a peace with the people of Carthage, on such terms as he should judge proper. The Carthaginians, then, after returning thanks to the senate, requested that they might be permitted to enter the city, and to converse with their countrymen, who, having been made prisoners, were still kept so; among whom some of them had relations and friends, men of distinction, and to others they had messages from their relations. After a meeting with their friends, on making a second request, that liberty might be allowed them to ransom such of them as they chose, they were ordered to give in a list of their names;—and when they had given in about two hundred, a decree of the senate was passed, that "the Roman ambassadors should carry two hundred of the prisoners, such as the Carthaginians should select, into Africa, to Publius Cornelius Scipio, and give him directions, that if peace were concluded, he should restore them without ransom to the Carthaginians." The heralds being ordered to go to Africa to ratify the treaty, at their desire the senate passed a decree in these words: that "they should carry with them flint stones of their own, and vervain of their own; that the Roman commander should give them the order to strike the treaty, and that they should call on him for the herbs." This was a kind of herb brought from the capitol, and given to the heralds on such occasions. The deputies being dismissed from Rome in this manner, as soon as they came to Scipio, in Africa, concluded a peace on the terms before mentioned. The Carthaginians delivered up the ships of war, elephants, deserters, fugitives, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator. The ships Scipio ordered to be carried out into the deep, and burned. Some say that they amounted to five hundred, of all sorts, which were worked with oars; and that the sudden sight of these in flames was as great a shock to the Carthaginians, as if Carthage itself had been set on fire. The deserters were treated with more severity than the fugitives; those who were of the Latine confederacy were beheaded; the Romans were crucified.

44. The last peace with the Carthaginians had been made forty years before this, in the consulate of Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius. The late war began twenty-three

years after, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and ended in the seventeenth year, when Cneius Cornelius and Publius Ælius Pætus were consuls. We are told that Scipio often said afterward, that the ambition, first of Tiberius Claudius, and then of Cneius Cornelius, was what prevented that war from ending in the utter destruction of Carthage. The Carthaginians having been exhausted by the long continuance of the late struggles, found it difficult to raise the first contribution money, so that the senate-house was filled with grief and lamentations; on which occasion, it is said, that Hannibal was observed to laugh; and that being reproved by Hasdrubal Hædus, for laughing in a moment of public sorrowing, and when he himself was the cause of their tears, he said: "If the inward thoughts could be perceived in the same manner as the look of the countenance is perceived by the eye, you would be immediately convinced that the laughter which you blame proceeds not from a heart elated with joy, but from one driven almost to madness by misfortunes; and yet it is not, by any means, so unseasonable as those absurd and inconsistent tears of yours. Then ought you to have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burned, and we ourselves forbidden to engage in foreign wars; that was the wound by which we fell. And do not imagine that the measures taken against you by the Romans were dictated merely by animosity. No great state can remain long at rest. If it has no enemies abroad, it finds them at home; as overgrown bodies seem safe from external injuries, but suffer grievous inconveniences from their own strength. We feel, it seems, for the public misfortunes, only in proportion as our private affairs are affected by them; and none of them stings more deeply than the loss of money. Thus, when the spoils were stripped off from vanquished Carthage, and you saw her left naked among so many armed states of Africa, not one of you uttered a groan; now because a contribution must be made to the tribute out of your private properties, you lament as if the existence of the state were terminated. Much I dread lest you quickly feel that the subject of your tears this day is the lightest of your misfortunes." Such were Hannibal's sentiments which he delivered to the Carthaginians. Scipio, having called an assembly, bestowed on Masinissa, in addition to his paternal kingdom, the city of Cirtha, and the other cities and lands belonging to the territories of Syphax, which had fallen into the hands of the Roman people. He ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the fleet to Sicily, and deliver it to the consul Cneius Cornelius; and the ambassadors of the Carthaginians to go to Rome, in order that the terms stipu-

lated for by him might be ratified by the authority of the senate and the order of the people.

45. Peace being established by sea and land, he embarked his army, and carried it over to Lilybæum in Sicily; and from thence, sending a great part of his troops round by sea, he himself landed in Italy. As he proceeded through the country, he found it no less delighted at finding there was an end to the war, than at the success in it; not only the inhabitants of the cities pouring out to show their respect to him, but crowds of the country-people also filling up the roads: and thus he arrived at Rome, where he entered the city in the most splendid triumph which had ever been beheld. He carried into the treasury a hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds weight of silver, and out of the spoils distributed to each of the soldiers four hundred asses.* The death of Syphax caused some diminution in the splendour of the show, but none in the glory of the general who triumphed. He died a short time before at Tibur, to which place he had been removed from Alba. His death, however, made some noise, for he was honoured with a public funeral. Polybius, a writer of no contemptible authority, asserts that this king was led in triumph. Quintus Terentius Culleo followed Scipio in his triumph, with a cap on his head;† and through his whole life after, as became him, he respected him as the author of his liberty. I have not been able to discover whether it was the affection of the soldiers, or the attachment of the people, which honoured Scipio with the surname of Africanus; or whether it was brought into use by the flattery of his friends, as that of Felix given to Sylla, and of Magnus to Pompey, in the memory of our fathers. He was certainly the first general distinguished by the title of a nation which he had subdued. Others, afterward following his example, though far inferior in the greatness of their achievements, assumed pompous inscriptions for their statues, and splendid surnames for their families.

* 11. 5c. 10d.

† The symbol of liberty.

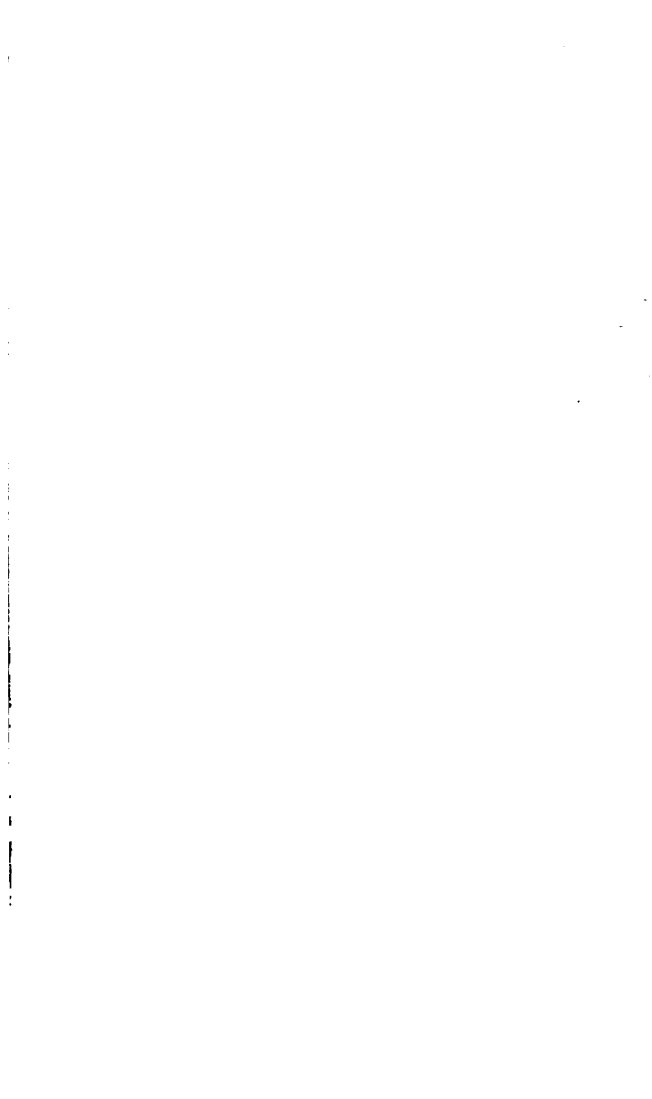


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